





THE IRISH REPUBLIC



THE AUTHOR

CHICAGO TRIBUNE CORRESPONDENT IN IRELAND, ENGLAND AND FRANCE. HE REMAINED CONTINUOUSLY IN IRELAND FROM THE PASSAGE OF THE CONSCRIPTION ACT UNTIL AFTER THE ARREST AND DEPORTATION OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS

THE IRISH REPUBLIC

AN ANALYTICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND, 1914-1918,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE EASTER
INSURRECTION (1916) AND THE GERMAN
"PLOTS." ALSO A SKETCH OF DE VALERA'S
LIFE BY HARRY J. BOLAND, HIS PRIVATE SEC-
RETARY; A CLOSE-UP VIEW OF COUNTESS
MARKIEVICZ, AND A DEFENSE OF ULSTER BY
ULSTERMEN.

BY
CHARLES NEWTON WHEELER



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IN MEMORY OF MY WIFE

Mary Lowry Wheeler

WHO DESCENDED FROM THE GRAYS AND
DOYLES OF GRANARD AND WHO POS-
SESSED IN AN UNCOMMON DE-
GREE THE SOUL OF A
GREAT PEOPLE

PLOTS

Nothing is so offensive to a man who knows anything of history or of human nature, as to hear those who exercise the powers of government accuse any sect of foreign attachments.

If there be any proposition universally true in politics it is this, that foreign attachments are the fruit of domestic misrule. It has always been the trick of bigots to make their subjects miserable at home, and then to complain that they look for relief abroad; to divide society, and to wonder that it is not united; to govern as if a section of the state were the whole, and to censure the other sections of the state for their want of patriotic spirit.—
[*From Macaulay's essay on "The Civil Disabilities of the Jews."*]



IRELAND'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

*[Issued by the Dail Eireann at the Mansion House
in Dublin, Jan. 21, 1919.]*

Whereas the Irish People is by right a free people; and whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation;

And whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people;

And whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army, acting on behalf of the Irish people;

And whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete Independence in order to promote the common weal, to re-establish justice, to provide for future defense, to insure peace at home and good will with all nations, and to constitute a National policy based upon the people's will, with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen;

And whereas at the threshold of a new era in history, the Irish electorate has in the General Election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic;

Now, therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient Irish people, in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish Nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this Declaration effective by every means at our command;

Do ordain the elected Representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament is the only Parliament to which that people will give its allegiance.

We solemnly declare foreign Government in Ireland to be an invasion of our National Right, which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English garrison;

We claim for our National Independence the recognition and support of every Free Nation of the world, and we proclaim that Independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter;

In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God, who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this, the last stage of the struggle which we have pledged ourselves to carry through to Freedom.

GRATTAN:

The constitution may for a time be lost, but the character of the people cannot be lost. Liberty may repair her golden beams and with redoubled heat animate the country. The cry of loyalty will not long continue against the principles of liberty. Loyalty distinct from liberty is corruption. Without a union of hearts, identification is extinction, is dishonor, is conquest. Yet I do not give up my country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life and on her cheek a glow of beauty.

*Thou art not conquered; Beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death's pale flag is not advanced there.*

While a plank of the vessel stands together, I will not leave her. Let the courtier present his flimsy sail and carry the light bark of his faith with every new breath of wind; I will remain anchored here with fidelity to the fortunes of my country, faithful to her freedom, faithful to her fall. [*From speech in opposition to the Act of Union, 1800.*]

LECKY:

In the case of Ireland, as truly as in the case of Poland, a national constitution was destroyed by a foreign power contrary to the wishes of the people. In the one case, the deed was a crime of violence; in the other, it was a crime of treachery and corruption. In both cases a legacy of enduring bitterness was the result.

GLADSTONE:

I know of no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the Union between England and Ireland.

DICEY:

[*Professor of Law in Oxford University*]

The act of Union was an agreement which, could it have been referred to a court of law, must at once have been cancelled as a contract—hopelessly tainted with fraud and corruption.

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON:

Don't unite with us, sir, or we shall rob you.

CONTENTS

FOREWORD . . . xiii to xxxii

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	THIRTY DAYS	1
II	"MURDER AFOOT"	5
III	ALICE STOPFORD GREEN	11
IV	A SIMPLE SYLLOGISM	20
V	THE FIRST "GERMAN PLOT"	21
VI	PURSUING THE ULSTER ANTHOLOGY	26
VII	MORE OF THE "DRAGON'S TEETH"	40
VIII	FISH AND FOWL	45
IX	THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE	47
X	BACHELOR'S WALK	53
XI	THE UNCONQUERABLE THING	59
XII	TRYING TO BE ENGLAND'S FRIEND	60
XIII	LEADERS OF THE INSURRECTION	67
XIV	THE EXECUTIONS	69
XV	AN EYE FOR AN EYE	73
XVI	PARTITION	74
XVII	THE "MOVING WHY" THEY DID IT	77
XVIII	THE UNITED STATES COMES IN	80
XIX	THE QUID OBSCURUM OF STATESMEN	97
XX	THE RECOIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION	98
XXI	MOBILIZING FOR RESISTANCE	104
XXII	SOME BALLADS OF THE CONSCRIPTION FIGHT	113
XXIII	SIR HORACE PLUNKETT	124
XXIV	"NO POPEY"	133
XXV	ENGLISH LABOR TAKES A STAND	145
XXVI	NEWS FROM AMERICA	148
XXVII	STILL ANOTHER "GERMAN PLOT"	152
XXVIII	THE GOVERNMENT'S CHARGE	158
XXIX	ARRESTING THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS	164
XXX	FATHER O'FLANAGAN	178
XXXI	RUSSELL'S NOBLE REPLY TO KIPLING	181
XXXII	THE GAEL IN THE DOCK	184
XXXIII	DECEMBER FOURTEENTH	185
XXXIV	THE DAIL EIREANN	205

XXXV	IRELAND'S CLAIM TO INDEPENDENCE	210
XXXVI	WHY IRELAND IS A WORLD PROBLEM	218

APPENDICES

A	IRELAND'S ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND HER PART IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE WORLD WAR	225
B	SKETCH OF DE VALERA'S LIFE BY HARRY J. BOLAND	233
C	DE VALERA'S ADDRESS IN CHICAGO	239
D	COUNTESS DE MARKIEVICZ	243
E	THE CASE FOR ULSTER	247

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

THE AUTHOR	<i>Frontispiece</i>
LORD GEORGE IN HIS NATIVE CITY OF CRICCIETH, WALES . .	8
ALICE STOPFORD GREEN	12
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR	14
ANDREW BONAR LAW	16
LORD ROBERT CECIL	18
SIR EDWARD CARSON ADDRESSING COVENANTERS AT BALLY- CLARE	22
A LONDON ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF CARSON	24
THE "EVIL GENIUS" SIGNING THE COVENANT TO LEAD ULSTER IN CIVIL WAR AND IN REBELLION AGAINST THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT	32
OLD HALLS OF IRISH PARLIAMENT AND TRINITY COLLEGE .	38
THE LATE JOHN REDMOND	48
EASTER WEEK RUINS—MID ABBEY STREET	54
RUINS AT EDEN QUAY-O'CONNELL MONUMENT	58
RUINS IN NORTH EARL STREET	62
SHELL OF GENERAL POST OFFICE	66
LEADERS OF THE RISING—PEARSE AND CONNOLLY	68
CLARK, MAC DONAGH AND MC BRIDE	72
DESTRUCTION IN MID ABBEY STREET	76
SHOT-TORN LIBERTY HALL	80
HAVOC NEAR THE O'CONNELL BRIDGE	84
THE DAMAGE IN HENRY STREET	88
HENRY STREET, LOOKING AT NELSON PILLAR	92
SHELLS ALSO DROPPED IN ABBEY STREET	96
DE VALERA LEAVING MANSION HOUSE	98
JOHN DILLON AND JOSEPH DEVLIN	100
THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN	104
LORD FRENCH	108
DE VALERA "SNAPPED" IN O'CONNELL STREET	112
GRIFFITH AND DE VALERA "SNAPPED" IN DAWSON STREET .	116
ANTI-CONSCRIPTION MEETING IN CORK	120
SIR HORACE PLUNKETT	126

THE PRINCE OF WALES	132
JOHN MCGARRY	136
HUGH O'NEILL	140
PETER J. PEEL	148
MAUD GONE MACBRIDE	152
DE VALERA AT BALLAGHADERKEEN	156
COUNTESS DE MARKIEVICZ	160
COUNT PLUNKETT	164
ARTHUR GRIFFITH	168
EDWARD F. DUNNE	182
FRANK P. WALSH	188
SITTING OF THE DAIL EIREANN	204
DE VALERA AND BOLAND CHEERED AT FOOTBALL GAME	208
IRISH AMERICAN DELEGATES IN DUBLIN	212
JOHN DILLON EXPELLED FROM HOUSE OF COMMONS	220

FOREWORD

I am neither Roman Catholic nor Irishman. I am a member of the Presbyterian church by baptism. My forbears have been of the Baptist persuasion since the inception of that creed—ministers and builders of meeting houses.

I am of English blood. At times it pulls, strongly. I love the English landscape. I cannot forget the lane that "runs from Steyning to the Ring;" nor that other lane that lies so pleasantly across the fields to Shottery, hard by the thatched cottage in the fragrant Hathaway gardens. I can hear the rooks at Stratford in early spring, and see the limpid, gentle Avon that winds so peaceful-like by the churchyard. I can hear the skylarks above the fields of Dorking, out Surrey way, and across the Downs, by Leith Hill and Leatherhead, by Box Hill and Reigate and Ranmore Common. I can hear the bleat of sheep on Epsom, and the crowing of the pheasant cocks from the woods. There are plover in the meadows and poppies midst the corn, and up the Thames by Windsor, removed from London's greed and sweat, there are signets on the water, to be branded by the king. In the stately limes and larches is a choir of birds, and there is peace and pleasant shade neath the yew and the beech tree. There are primroses at every brookside, and marguerites beside the whin. Everywhere there are flowers. There is a smell in the air of ineffable sweetness. On every road of the island some noble or wicked deed was done—some that had better be forgot.

I love the heavy monuments and the cathedral churches—as architecture—and the things they hold. There are exceptions. Andre's bust in Westminster does not thrill me. I have kept "green" your memory, "Mother" England, but abhorred the greed and the ruthlessness of the Angle and the Saxon—the prodigality with which the ruling class has sent the youth of the land to battlefield and jungle for the sake of commerce, for the sake of pounds, shillings and pence.

I have been drawn to you at times, "Mother" England, for I am of your blood. But there is something in me you ken not of. I cannot forget it. I would not if I could. It is 1776! And right here, I and the men from Erin strike hands and understand. I think you ought to know this, for "I" am millions in this land of vast distances and home of independent men.

In those bleak, mid-winter mornings, a child, I scrambled through the snowdrifts to a little old school house, on the coun-

tryside. We did not begin our A. B. C.'s with the singing of "God Save the King." Our morning exercises consisted of the narrative of the Boston Tea Party, the Psalm of Freedom at Bunker Hill and the Anthem of Yorktown. We were children. It sank deep, so deep we would not say it ever could depart from our hearts. It was there in the little roadside shack, on desks we had rudely carved our names, that we carved the name of Nathan Hale. And as the lonely winter months stretched their weary lengths, we heard how you set *fire to Washington; how you plied Tecumseh with rum and then put pounds, shillings and pence in his wallet for the scalps of our ancestors. You ever were a thrifty one at bargaining! We learned to hate the name of king, as the child hates something out in the field that would hurt it, like the hate we had for a snake. These are strong words, but true. We were told that your kings were brutal, ferocious and immoral, always greedy and always oppressing, lashing and killing the poor whom they despised. On that we were fed. In our plain but clean homes on the fringe of the forest, where things by necessity were rude, there were old-fashioned oval pictures on the plain walls—pictures of Washington and Lafayette. Do you know one great sentiment that took this nation into the world war? Remember Pershing at the shrine in France. He said: "Lafayette, we are here!"

While we did not, we children, use strong language then, the thing which was put deep into our untutored minds, when we mentioned the name of your king, was the essence of that philosophy of abomination we used in later years in consigning things we abhorred to the nether clime.

The great war is over. We all have been brayed in the mortar. Seven million dead! Two hundred billion debt! Women and children by the millions dead of inanition and horror! We—you and Uncle Sam—stood side by side at Armageddon. You would go farther. You would offer your hand. You desire the English-speaking peoples of the earth to come together, under-

*The English government immortalized Ross for his burning of Washington. It was held to be a brilliant exploit, to be gloriously commended. English school children today are so taught. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* records the deed as follows: "Ross was sent in command of a brigade to harry the coast of North America, and with 4,500 men and three light guns landed in Maryland. At Bladensburg the Americans stood to fight in a strong position, but Ross' men routed them (Aug. 24, 1814). The same evening Washington was entered, and, the public buildings having been destroyed, the expedition re-embarked. This short and brilliant campaign excited the admiration of soldiers, critics and public alike, but the commander did not live to receive his reward. A few days later an expedition against Baltimore was undertaken; skirmishing soon began, and one of the first to fall was Ross. A public monument was erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral, and others at his residence at Roostrevor and at Halifax, N. S. His family was granted the name of Ross of Bladensburg by royal letters-patent."

standing and understood; not forgetting but overlooking; not cringing-like but Christian-like. Do you mean it? Have you nothing up your sleeve?

Free Ireland!

Why do I—and "I" am innumerable multitudes of the United States who do not bear a crucifix or genuflect to Rome—as if by instinct feel such strong currents of sympathy for Ireland? Because Ireland's story is my country's story, flashing vividly across memory's screen, what your learned psychologists term the association of brain concepts. Ireland's plea visualizes again the little school house and the old master—a one-armed man. He had left the other arm on the battlefield, and a battlefield you would have turned against him and his and me and mine had you followed your secret desire. The old New England spirit still lives—the spirit that despised tyrants and spit at kings.

"Mother" England, this is not the way of those who seek eternal bliss, this holding up against you through the generations the hate you so thoroughly deserved in 1776, you and your stubborn old king. His name was George!

You would be a friend. You say as much. And how do you go about it to prove it, to disillusion us, to convince us that you and your king have mended your ways? You said, when the world was on fire, you would agree with the American President to self-determination for the whole world. You said it when you were knocking at the door of the monastery and a monk would be. How have you kept that death-bed repentance, now that you have been snatched from the brink of the grave?

You have returned from the Conference of Peace with more spoils than ever your broad back was laden in your history of empire building. You cut and carved the world's map to your liking, and you made others like it. You have set the graven effigy of a Mikado on your mantel piece in token of your alliance; you pampered the one nation in the world that might cause this nation of ours a great sorrow. You now are the most powerful empire in the world's history, but in your very strength is your weakness. Beware lest you are laying up treasure which will turn to corruption in your hands by the rust of hate. Great power is careless of its use. It is the natural law. The other nations of the earth will resent your bigness. They will, not alone through prejudice but through necessity and the yearning for autonomy, nurse the day when they can topple the giant from its pedestal, even as they toppled a Caesar, and a Wilhelm, and a Nicholas—unless you reform. For it seems not right that one small nation, a hundred families, say, should rule so much of the

earth and so many million as you do—the rule of one nation by another nation. They will execrate what to them is your selfishness.

And of all the people of the earth, which family will hate you most, will arise wherever the habitation of a human may be found, to curse you, to pray God unceasingly for your undoing, for retribution? Whose words will be the hardest spoken by the human tongue? Ireland's! Not alone in these United States, where twenty million such dwell, besides the 1776 descendants, but in your possessions everywhere, they will treat you as a viper. They will multiply while your ruling class remains sterile. Their racial propagation alone will smother you in time, for it is the religion of their women not to kill what God has made in His image.

Do you know how many O'Neill's there are in the world? And every O'Neill knows that in the days of Elizabeth—"Good Queen Bess," the "Virgin" Queen—they made a map and on it they marked the spot, and, as they chortled, in jest, they said: "Here Shane O'Neill was slain." O'Neill is but one name. Do you remember how you exiled and cast out of Erin the flower of a race in your greed for land, and in your terrible bigotry? Do you remember how you endeavored to blot from the pages of history their cherished tradition—how you forbade their religion; how you broke the Staff of Patrick and the Cross of Columcille and profaned their national relics; how you burned their schools and gave their sacred books to the bonfire, while you hunted down their learned men?

Do you remember how you abolished Irish industry and broke in pieces the inauguration chairs of their chiefs; how you tore up the law of a race, and trampled the codes of inheritance, of land tenure, or every sacred obligation between neighbors? Do you remember how you mutilated the very image of justice, how you made the love of a country and every attachment of race a crime, and reared a gallows for those who would use their mother tongue and clothe themselves in the raiments of their ancestors? Do you not now understand that to the four corners of the earth you banished these people, and that in the four corners of the earth they and their sons and their sons' sons and their women have taught the people of the earth to look upon you as an unholy thing? Grattan, the Protestant, prophesied in the dark days of long ago that you would come to an evil end—that what you trampled on in Europe would rise to sting you in America.

It is up to you. If you fail now we shall continue to have the Irish question in every nation on this footstool, growing in volume as the years go by. It will confuse our politics; it will confuse

your politics. The world will not know peace, however much you cry peace. Because you had your way at Paris every people whose aspirations were denied will blame you, openly and insidiously.

Hate is the inexorable heritage of war. It has been more than half a century since our Civil war, and that was merely an internecine strife on a comparatively small scale. The hatreds bequeathed by that war have not yet been wiped out. Hate has fed the soul of every nation, great or small, that lost a war. That hate was visited upon the victor. Now the whole world has been at war, and the hate of all that section of the world that lost or was humiliated at Paris will be your heritage.

Ireland is your salvation, if you will but understand it. You must have done them a great wrong or they would not have resented through the centuries without ceasing your presence among them. They don't like you now. They never did. You are of another race. You are Saxon and Angle. They are Gael and Celt. You hold their ancient lands by brigandage and not by their approval. They want you to get out. Why don't you do it?

Do you know, "Mother" England, what many Americans are saying, Americans who would be your friends if you would let them? Listen: They are saying that you are the same old Jacob, though your hand is covered with hair; that you are filled with greed, even more than before the world war; that you want the revenue from Ireland—that you have not changed at heart since you tried the Stamp Act on our American colonies—that you merely have put on a new makeup. They are whispering, one to another, that you are as bigoted as ever, and all swollen up with cant; that you are the same old Pharisee, because you will not "coerce Ulster." They are repeating by word of mouth that you have thirty thousand propagandists in America today, that you are aiming at a peaceful conquest of this land by a propaganda infinitely more clever than the Germans employed to engraft "kultur" into the soul of all the peoples of the earth. They are saying that you want to take Bunker Hill out of our school books. Many of our people, doubtless encouraged by the Gael among us, feel that you have in your heart only contempt for us. They believe that Sir Edward Carson expressed truly what is in your soul when he referred to the solemn act of our Senate as an act of "unparalleled effrontery." You said the same to the Colonists of 1776—"unparalleled effrontery." Can't you understand even elemental psychology? Can't you get it through your head that the use of the words "unparalleled effrontery" is the very thing that will send millions of us back to Bunker Hill? This na-

tion, too, has a soul.

Never in your history were such obligations and such responsibilities laid upon you. In every city, town and hamlet in all the United States, this hour, are men and women humming the marching songs of old Ireland. And other men and women, filled with your stubbornness and bigotry, are hating them, even as you seem to hate them. Do you realize, "Mother" England, what you are doing with your Irish problem? Do you realize that you are turning the world into a house of intolerance—that you are arraying Protestant against Catholic and Catholic against Protestant—that you are rekindling the hottest fires of bigotry since the sphere was reduced from chaos by your "no-coercion" alibi? Was it for this that the millions of Catholic and Protestant boys from the four quarters of the earth stood at Armageddon to save your hide and ours?

Free Ireland! Completely! Take her into the family of nations. She will be your friend in a fortnight, as Cuba became ours. She will produce in the greatest abundance what you must have in the greatest abundance—food. It seems that the great God put Ireland there to feed you. Her people know your people—the common people—and they will love one another. She would not and will not harm you. She will be so thrilled with the dream of the centuries coming to pass that her hatred—and you know how much she has to hate you for—will turn to forbearance and her forbearance to sympathy and her sympathy to co-operation. The real Ireland, as you know, is magnanimous and cheerful when dealt with honorably. Even your obstinate old Covenanters—from whom I come and whose kind burned the women at Salem—will find in their freed countrymen that generosity and that comradeship that have made them famous and admired and loved in every nation under the heaven, save among your governing class. Here in America, "Mother" England, here in Chicago, we get along like two peas in a pod—we Covenanters and Catholics—in business, in society, and in politics. We share one another's human burdens. They are kind to our poor; we are kind to theirs.

Think what it would mean to you as well as to the world to be rid of the Irish problem. It would take away much of your trouble at home, your trouble in Australia, much of it in Africa, in Canada, and in the United States of America. You would begin to enjoy then what you might command by affection but never shall by force—the respect of the world. The English speaking peoples would come together, and we, while not forgetting our traditions, we Americans of English blood would not

longer "nurse our wrath to keep it warm." You would not need so large a propaganda force as you now have among us. You would not have to marry your empty titles to our silly little heiresses to maintain a speaking acquaintance. The coming of your prince would not then stir resentment among us, although we understand he is a "regular fellow." We are a plain people, and frown on the trappings of royalty, on resounding titles and honors bestowed upon your favored few in the perpetuation of your system of caste, while you smugly tolerate London's East End.

But we would try to understand you better. Being skeptical, even as they of old when they sought from the Master a sign, we ask that you prove by your deeds that we may know your heart is right, for your word does not excite us.

Free Ireland, as a beginning of your reconstruction, for the sake of world peace. Let them have their way, once. Trust them, once. They have trusted you many times, and to their sorrow. If they fail we shall have no more to say. Open the League doors to them, and then we all could come back to Old England or to Ireland, Saxon and Angle and Gael and Celt. We could together go to Leopardstown, or Ballydoyle, or Punchestown or Limerick, or Phoenix Park, to see the jumpers go over the high hurdle. We could cast our flies in the Shannon or paddle on Killarney's lake. With good-natured jibe, the American, pointing across Belfast Bay, might ask: "About where out yonder did Paul Jones show you up?" And the companion from Ludgate Hill might reply: "Really, I don't recall Paul Jones; I was thinking of Ross of Bladensburg." And then the two might smile and exclaim, "How in this world could we have been such silly asses?"

Cuba, lying on our doorstep, a fine base for enemy submarines, is a Catholic country. Cuba is the friend in its heart of the nation that never had a Catholic ruler.

Think it over, "Mother" England.

The *New York Sun*, July 2, 1919, printed the following editorial:

"The return of Mr. Lloyd George to London appears to have been a triumph. In the street on the way from Downing Street to Westminster, and in the House, the cheers and applause for the Prime Minister are said to have been unprecedented. All this does not surprise the watchers on this side of the Atlantic. If there was anything that Lloyd George went to Paris for and failed to get, then we have missed it. He pleased the dreamers of England by advocating the scheme of the League of Nations; and then delighted the practical politicians with the performance of obtaining in the covenant of the league one vote each for the Empire,

Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and India—six votes as compared with the one vote allotted to the United States. In addition to getting for Great Britain everything that the most sanguine British imagination could covet in the way of colonial power—including an even firmer grip on Egypt than England has ever had—and the utter destruction of German influence in the eastern hemisphere, Mr. Lloyd George obtained the signature of the President of the United States to a pledge which, if Mr. Wilson's hand and stenographic seal made it binding, would obligate the United States to use to an unlimited extent its wealth and soldiers to preserve the British Empire intact. Mr. Lloyd George brought to London two skulls. One is the dome, stolen by the Germans, of an African Sultan of unpronounceable name. The other is the skull of Mr. Wilson's declaration that self-determination must be permitted to all nations, great or small. This the Welshman took in the battle of Paris, and he may write across the brow Mr. Wilson's later announcement that the Irish question is a domestic problem. It may stand on the mantelpiece in Downing street, in front of a framed copy of the late Fourteen Points or Principles. Small wonder, we say, that those who once yelled "Limehouse!" called "Hurrah!" when Lloyd George came back to London with his trophies. The fact that the assent of the United States Senate is necessary to the completion of certain parts of his victory cannot detract from the Prime Minister's remarkable accomplishment. He did all he could do and he perhaps expects that Mr. Wilson will be able to consummate the programme."

There was one nation at the Peace Conference that might have battered down the doors of the chambers of the "Big Four" and invited Erin to come in and lay her claims before the map-makers of our new world. That nation was the United States of America. It flatly refused. Not only did it acquiesce in the British view on this question (as well as the British views apparently on all questions), but its representatives seemed to have assumed an antagonistic attitude, for some unknown reason, toward Ireland's claim at the outset while smiling benignly on nearly all other ethnic strains in the universe. (China and India were notable exceptions with Ireland.) And this notwithstanding the fact that Ireland was the one "small nation" that had held a plebiscite since the signing of the armistice and had voted three to one for "self-determination."

What travail shall come upon the new world because of this dozing of the Eagle beneath the mane of the Lion, if travail does eventuate, will be laid, accordingly, at the doors of the

nation, not alone for its failure to stand by its announced principles—fourteen of them—with respect to Ireland, but with respect to China and India and the peoples of Africa. If another world war engulfs the human family shortly, then we, the government of the United States, shall not be guiltless.

There was not the slightest chance of Ireland being considered by the British delegates, if left to their own devices. Before that delegation left London it was pledged by the solemn asseverations of its members to oppose Irish claims.

The "Big Four" of England at the peace table were Arthur James Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Bonar Law, and David Lloyd George.

Mr. Balfour had been the consistent opponent of Republicanism in Ireland, as in all other British possessions, during his public career. From the Tory standpoint, England has not had a more successful empire builder since Disraeli's day. He is perhaps the one colossal intellect of present-day English statesmen. (We only wish the United States had a Balfour.) He is thoroughly British, which is not to his discredit as a Nationalist. Profound as are his state utterances, even his address before the United States Senate, Mr. Balfour's subjective mind always has seemed to be riveted to the central idea that when all is said and done the only thing that matters for the British Empire is more empire—commercial expansion, colonial expansion, the domination by his gracious majesty the king of as much of the earth's surface and its chattels as power and superior diplomacy can achieve. He is one of two conspicuous examples, as we now recall, of the "single-track mind." His, however, tracks toward home.

It is related that when Mr. Balfour visited the tomb of George Washington, after we had entered the world war, he was unusually thrilled with the notion that thereafter, the war having been won with our aid, Great Britain and the United States could control the commerce of the world! That was the true British statesman who knows when to soar and when to be practical!

When the supreme show-down came, Mr. Balfour was not what might be vernacularly termed crazy for a world made safe for democracy. He was chiefly concerned, it seems, with a world brought under the domination of King George's Empire.

Moreover, he has not the slightest sympathy with Ireland's Republican aspirations. With rare satire he summed up his attitude on this question long before the Peace Conference, when he referred to Ireland's claims as that "bitter fiction" that Ireland *ever* was a nation. He was committed, both by birth and training,

to defend the royalists of Ulster against all comers.

Balfour has deserved well of his king!

Mr. Lloyd George, whatever his liberalism before the war, whatever his bitter fulminations against the men he afterward took into his cabinet, was committed in 1918—after the armistice was signed—in opposition to Ireland's claim for self-government. In his election manifesto of November, 1918, on which he went before the electorate of the United Kingdom, he unequivocally declared that, if returned to power, he and his government would not consent to the "coercion of Ulster." That was tantamount to saying that the Crown had accepted Ulster's ultimatum (that section of Ulster that really means it when it sings "God Save the King;" Sir Edward Carson's Ulster), that Home Rule would not be granted to Ireland except by a partition scheme.

It was the Ulster leaders of the Carson school, who first, in 1913 and 1914, openly preached sedition and rebellion, even an alliance with Germany to defeat Home Rule, mutiny in the English army, and what is now popularly characterized as Bolshevism. Mr. Law was one of those who gave the English soldiers to understand that mutiny on their part in support of the Ulster royalists, and against Republican Ireland, would be a commendable undertaking, if the government sought to proceed with its Home Rule law.

Bonar Law openly suggested mutiny at a time when German high officials were in Ulster, enjoying if not encouraging the Ulster rebellion, which was made effective as a threat to the Empire, for the moment, by the 30,000 German rifles with which the Ulster rebels were armed, the details of which—Germany's part in the Ulster rebellion—will be set forth in a later chapter, with particular application to the subsequent Easter insurrection (1916), in the South and West.

In a speech at Dublin, November 28, 1913, Mr. Bonar Law said: "I have said on behalf of the party—and only a week ago it was repeated in language as plain as my own by Lord Landsdowne and the party has endorsed it—we have said that if they first attempt to coerce Ulster before they have received the sanction of the electors, Ulster will do well to resist them, and we will support her in her resistance to the end. . . . There is another point to which I would specially refer. In order to carry out his despotic intention, King James had the largest paid army which had ever been seen in England. What happened? There was a revolution and the King disappeared. Why? Because his own army refused to fight for him?"

In the House of Commons, March 23, 1914, Mr. Bonar Law said: "The House knows that we on this side have, from the

very first, held the view that to coerce Ulster is an operation which no government, under existing conditions, has a right to ask the army to undertake. And, in our view, of course, it is not necessary to say it, any [army] officer who refuses, is only fulfilling his duty. . . . The question has been raised in an acute form, and in my belief nothing can save the army now, except a clear declaration on the part of the government, that officers will not be compelled—Hon. members: ('And men!')—and men will not be compelled—to engage in civil war against their will."

Three days later the *Morning Post*, organ of the Tory forces, said: "The Army has killed the Home Rule bill, and the sooner the government recognized the fact, the better for the country."

That Ireland should have a friend in the man who was ready to smash the British Empire in the interests of a small minority in order to defeat the Home Rule demanded by the majority, was absurd.

Lord Robert Cecil, in the House of Commons, April 1, 1914, said: "I utterly deny that the army is the instrument of the government. The army is the servant of the nation, and you have no right to use the army as the instrument of a mere party body like the government." Lord Robert was speaking on the Home Rule proposal. He was contending for the Ulster rebels and against Ireland's national aspirations. He was ready to lay down the rule that the government had no right to employ the army in putting down rebellion when that rebellion happened to be located in Ulster.

Perhaps nothing more clearly illustrates the unyielding quality of the Cecil mind than Lord Robert's retirement from the Coalition Cabinet after the armistice was signed. He quit the government because of the disestablishment of the Welsh church. After many millions of the finest youth of the world had been slaughtered to make the world safe for Great Britain, one might be justified in looking upon a statesman, who was ready to leave his government in the lurch because of a theologic difference in opinion, as something of a curiosity, if not an anachronism. However, it illustrates the tenacity of the Cecil type. His letter of resignation was dated November 21, 1918.

"My dear Prime Minister: As you know, I have been considering very anxiously the policy of the government with regard to the Welsh church. I understand that your letter to Bonar Law is to be taken as the final and authoritative exposition of that policy. If that be so, I am very reluctantly compelled to say that I cannot regard it as satisfactory, for the following reasons:

“(1) It treats disestablishment as accepted by its former opponents. I am, on the contrary, as much opposed to it and the method by which it was accomplished as ever I was, and if I do not ask for it to be reversed, it is mainly because the chief harm, the rejection of the Church by the State, is now done and cannot be remedied.

“(2) It deals with disendowment as if it was unobjectionable in itself, but admits that, owing to subsequent events, a compassionate allowance to the Welsh church might be made. To me disendowment is still an act of spoliation, objectionable both as a conversion to worldly uses of funds properly applicable to religious purposes, and as an attack on the security of property.

“(3) It is silent about the exclusion of the Welsh bishops and clergy from Convocation, and about such relatively minor matters as the alienation of the churchyards, which have caused extreme bitterness among churchmen.

“In these circumstances, what ought I to do? I am deeply pledged by word and conduct to the defense of the church in Wales, and recent events have, if possible, strengthened my conviction that nothing should be done to impair the efficiency of any religious agency. If your letter to Bonar Law were the programme of a new government, as in substance it is, I should be clearly precluded from joining it. It seems to me wholly clear that I ought not, by retaining office in the present government, to make myself responsible for a policy which I am unable to approve. With very real regret, therefore, I must ask you to transmit my resignation to the king.”

It is worth noting that Lord Robert requests the transmission of his resignation “to the king” for final action.

In his reply, Mr. David Lloyd George assures Lord Robert that it will be “submitted to his majesty.”

Such were the mental attitudes of the men Great Britain sent to the Peace Conference, determined each one that in no circumstances should Irish aspiration for self-government be considered.

To whom then could Ireland turn with her appeal for recognition, for so small a favor that her claims at least be heard even though they be not allowed? To France? No. France will be loved by all the world so long as the human race endures for many magnificent virtues. The affection for France in America will increase as the years go by, despite the profiteering of her shopmen at the expense of American soldiers. France knows how to die, as well as how to live; but France does not know two attributes that betimes are associated with certain other

nations—ingratitude and coarseness.

France, bleeding white, was at first aided by England, and both, when later staggering under the German blow and in danger of hourly collapse, were rescued by the Americans—the men, money and supplies from the United States. England's diplomatic pledge to France was sixty thousand men, but with the marvelous speed of the German war machine in crushing Belgium, overrunning northern France and stopping only at the gates of Paris, England went into the war whole-heartedly, not to save France and avenge Belgium, but to save herself. The collapse of France, after the collapse of Russia, would have put the German hordes in possession of the channel ports; would have resulted possibly in the removal of the French fleet from further effective participation in the war, and probably cut off India and East South Africa from communication with England. The very existence of the British Empire was hanging in the balance and Britain was fighting with her back against the wall—for Britain!

France, whatever the psychologic phases of the war, was grateful to England. She is grateful to the United States. France is pre-eminently the nation of gratitude and does not consider herself unworthy or mean in proclaiming it. Hence, when England's peace delegates slammed the door in Ireland's face, it was not for France to protest. Ireland still was an "internal question" of the British Empire. France did not question the pronouncement, for it was not France's place to do so. France was not under any obligations to Ireland, either political or altruistic. There is complete justification for her position. Hers was solely a war in defense of her hearth and not for the announced purpose of proclaiming a new world—not even a world made safe for democracy. She was not fighting to free small nations; she was fighting to save her soul.

To Italy? No. Italy had a secret treaty with Great Britain. In part remuneration for Italy's coming into the war on the side of the Allies, she was to secure, with the aid of Great Britain, not only the "rectification" of her frontier to the north—irridenta—but England was pledged to see to it that her eastern frontier was extended across the Adriatic and for some distance up and down and behind the Dalmatian and Istrian shores. There may have been other "arrangements," but the main considerations are sufficient for our purpose here. This secret treaty bound England to do these things for Italy, and Italy was bound to co-operate with Great Britain. Of course, the treaty never was meant for public scrutiny in the first instance, and probably would not have been disclosed save for unforeseen eventualities over

which the signatories had no control.

Italy, therefore, went to the Peace Conference as the ally of Great Britain; not only the ally but relying upon Great Britain's word for Italy's share of the spoils, if there were to be any spoils. Obviously Italy was in no position to dictate to England; surely not with respect to Ireland, which was an "internal question." Italy was not in the war to spread any new ideas, to insist on the brotherhood of man. Italy was fighting for revenge, for the recovery of stolen goods, for her own integrity.

To Japan? No. Japan was under diplomatic and treaty obligations to Great Britain. And the handing over of the Shantung province makes of Japan a real ally, a heart ally of Great Britain, whereas, prior to that time, Japan was merely a paper ally. This concession not only makes Japan the overseer and protector of the British Empire's eastern flank, while they both commercially exploit the Orient, but, with the Philippines given their independence, takes the United States out of the East, and exposes the Pacific to the full development of Nipponese aspirations, naval and commercial. If war is possible between Japan and the United States, which, we pray God Almighty may never befall, England probably would have great difficulty in not supporting Japan, for England and Japan are now together, and the ruling class of each nation is concerned with empire building. To both Ireland is a joke.

To whom, then, could Erin—the Niobe of nations—address her plea? To America? Certainly! For the representatives of the United States at the Quay d'Orsay, and at Versailles, were the representatives of the only nation standing on the *specific pledge* that every nationality in the world should secure the right, through the world war, to self-determination. The other nations assented to it tacitly when they welcomed the United States into the war.

The Eagle, not involved in the family quarrels of Europe, held aloof until such time as it was apparent that not only the European nations but the entire human family was facing perdition. Civilization, as we know it, of the entire world seemed to be poised on the brink of the abyss. There were, too, outrages against the dignity and the integrity of the United States that were in themselves sufficient provocation for a declaration of war, but it was not these provocations that actuated solely or even in a major degree the United States in entering the war, if we are to read literally the interpretations of our high resolves as stated to the world by the President of the United States. The clear words of our President carried to every mind, not only in America but throughout the whole world, the outstanding declaration that at

the close of this war, should the Allies be successful, there should not be an ethnic strain in the world against whom the door of self-government would be closed. Our tremendous sacrifices, our loading upon our own people a debt that will weigh heavily for generations, even for centuries, were predicated on the unequivocal and solemn pledge that there should ensue, with our victorious arms, "universal domination of right by consent of free people;" "a world safe for democracy, its peace planted on the trusted foundation of political liberty;" and such a brotherhood of man, not in any one spot on the earth, but in the whole world, that "the rights of nations great and small and the privileges of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience" should not again be questioned by human authority.

The right "of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience" thrilled not alone Christendom, but all peoples. It penetrated to the remotest jungles of India and Africa. It enraptured and spurred Mohammedan and Buddhist and Brahman and the black man of darkest Africa. It came to men in the remotest parts of the earth, in the islands of the sea, as the dawn of an era they had despaired of enjoying on this sphere. The solemn declaration carried no qualification. It emblazoned across the universe, in letters of burning fire, the very principle of the Sermon on the Mount, that men everywhere, not merely men in Jugo-Slavia, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland, in Mesopotamia, in Armenia, in Syria, in Turkey, in Croatia, in Dalmatia, in Esthonia, in Finland, but men in India, in Africa, in Porto Rico, and in Ireland should now enjoy the right "to choose their way of life and obedience." Ireland was not excluded from that promise. No conditions were laid down. That pledge did not carry with it a single reciprocal obligation. It did not question what nations had done, or what their immediate attitude with respect to the world war was; it raised no doubts; it was not susceptible to controversy. There was no ground on which an argument could be based. It was flat-footed. It was definite. It was a finality.

India thrilled even in its blackest spots, and, as a result of this promised boon, India's national aspirations quickened more in a fortnight than they had been stirred in countless centuries before. There is today in India a Home Rule movement that has passed beyond the infant stage. There are three hundred and fifty millions of people in India. Who will be bold enough to forecast the catastrophe that may be visited upon the earth by these and other millions when, grown to a fuller stature of nationality and healthy renaissance, they seek to avenge what they may be pleased to tell their people was "The Crime of Paris"?

What about China? Is not China included in "the rights of nations great and small and the privileges of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience"? Will the millions of Chinese who have thrown off autocracy, the rule of force, the oppression and suppression of the masses by the few, be appeased by the explanation that forty millions of their liberty-loving brothers were handed over to another nation through the dictates of "enlightened expediency"?

United States Senator Hiram Johnson of California, speaking in Springfield, Massachusetts, July 13, 1919, said:

"To the Japanese Empire, with only sixty million people, forty million Chinese were handed unjustly and cruelly. To the autocracy of the Orient, we handed forty million of the Republicans of China. We made the Orient 'safe for democracy' by dismembering its only democracy and handing its parts to the strongest autocracy on earth. The blackest page in all our history was written when our name was signed to the treaty delivering Shantung to Japan. It makes a mockery of our pretensions and if the Senate permits it to stand, it stamps us forever with its infamy. The delivery of China's fairest province violated not only every word that has been spoken by us concerning the peace, but every principle of fairness, justice and honor. Its justification by the thick and thin administration newspapers as well as by the very good people who advocate the League of Nations without knowing a thing in the world about it, is that ultimately the league of nations will right the wrong. But remember, if we adopt the League of Nations, we, the ninety-six men sitting in the Senate, guarantee the crime for all time. The peace treaty gives Shantung to Japan, and the League of Nations covenant guarantees to maintain present arrangements with American blood and treasure. We first rob China and enslave forty million people and then underwrite the wrong and guarantee by our arms that it shall never be righted."

At the very hour the map-makers of the new world were assuming to write down the destinies of mankind at Paris, however high-minded and sincere they believed themselves to be, England was dropping aerial torpedoes in the Punjab, was greeting the natives as they came from their jungles and their villages to rejoice in the end of the rule of a nation by a nation, to write into their incantations the new language of a new world—"peace planted on the trusted foundation of political liberty" and the "privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience"—with death-dealing missiles from the air!

Why should India be ruled by England? It's a fair question

—now. Why should the one hundred families of the inner ruling class in a small island in the North Sea hold in their hands the right of life and death, the right of slavery or freedom, over three hundred and fifty millions of people, thousands of miles away—a people between whom and England there is nothing in common, except commercial exploitation—a people of different language, different climate, different institutions, different religion, and a different outlook on life? Does not India come within one of the two classifications of “great and small nations everywhere”?

In the very hours, moreover, the backsliders were busy at Paris, England, too, was dropping bombs from the air over Egypt, and in the very hours, moreover, Ireland, but a night's journey from the seat of the British Empire, was held in subjection by British bayonets, by British armored trains, by British bombing gas, by British artillery. This was the same Ireland that, alone of all the nations of the earth, after the signing of the armistice, held its plebiscite and declared for self-determination by a unanimity of the public will greater than that expressed by any nation in the world's history in declaring its fundamentals of nationhood. Was Ireland a “domestic question” when we solemnly pledged the world that men everywhere would be protected in their right, human and divine, to choose their way of life and obedience? By what inexplicable destiny should the God of Nations forsake the chosen people?

By what strange myopia were we afflicted that we could not see in the glistening mirrors at Versailles the shades of Washington and Lincoln—even the face of the “Man of Sorrows,” Him they called the Christ? There was but one place whither Ireland could seek refuge—to the eerie crag on which the eagle was poised. Erin sought the eagle only to find it arrayed in strange garb. The eagle had grown great paws and a flowing mane. The eagle was within the lion.

Every line of this contention applies with equal force to the insular possessions of the United States. Porto Rico and the Philippines, by the straightforward reading of our solemn declaration of war aims, have the undisputed right, if a majority of the respective populations want it, to set up their own governments. If a majority desire to maintain the *status quo*, then that is the *vox Dei*, and we stand silenced. If a majority of Ireland desire to be an appanage of the Crown, then there is nothing more to be said. But we cannot make it sauce for the goose only. We cannot extend self-determination to Poland and ignore Porto Rico—if Porto Rico desires to be wholly free.

Ireland is entitled to her independence, because a vast major-

ity of her people demand it, by the terms we laid down when we went to the world's rescue, as we believed we were doing. All the Allies assented to the doctrine of self-determination, by silence at least; by failing to make articulate their reservations where they did not formally acknowledge the principle. Lloyd George did publicly accept it. Because none of the Allies was then protesting, because the millions of children, politically speaking, in India and Africa, as well as our own people, so understood it, are we not embittering more than half the world by renigging now? Are we not sowing rather than uprooting the seeds of a new and frightful holocaust, when we might bring the whole human family into a "parliament of man and federation of the world," an opportunity that may not recur? Is the United States, the inspiration of all liberty loving peoples, about to sacrifice confidence everywhere?

President Wilson warned us, on his return, that we must sign the Paris covenant or suffer the loss of trade. We did not go into the world war for trade or to promote an international banking trust. We went in to bring human liberty, the privilege of self-government, to every nation in the world, great and small; to protect the human family everywhere, and the right to choose methods of life and obedience. Whether internationalism is the thing now is not the issue. The issue is: Shall we make good?

Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons on the day the peace treaty was approved, said: "You can't cash German waterways at the Bank of England." He might have added: "You can't cash the Fourteen Points at the Bank of England." But he didn't. Anyway, the Bank of England was not the motive behind our participation. We have no right to say, after it is all over, that we didn't mean what we said on April 6, 1917.

Countless millions of humans are still in the primary class in the school of government. Millions are yet in the kindergarten. But all could understand when the teacher promised them, with no exceptions, that if they would study hard and be good children, they would be given a ticket of admission to the Liberty swimming hole. Even the incorrigibles, the bad boys, were to enjoy the same privileges. Are we not disillusioning the helpless millions, to our disadvantage and to the loss of our good name? Are we not now proclaiming our reservations when it is too late? We promised them a plum pudding and delivered a thistle. Are we not laying up for the old earth grievances, resentments and hatreds, which some day may remind the living of the ancient Gaelic prophecy that the end of the world will come when men fly in the air like birds (aeroplanes) and swim beneath the waves like fishes (submarines)?

"expedient"

Even the black men, when you put uniforms on them and sent them to France, understood your promise to include social as well as political and economic equality. As these lines are being written whites and blacks are slashing, stabbing and murdering one another in the heart of Chicago.

When the state put a United States uniform on the black man it stamped him a *white soul*. You never should have sent him into this war unless you were ready to acknowledge that. When men are dying on the battlefield, that you and we may live on as free men, their religion and the color of their skin are no longer of passing notice. Heroes are not classified in respect of the pigment in their cuticle. There is no such thing as a "black" hero. A hero is a hero. That's God's definition. There is no other. And you never can undo that. You must now simplify your etymology, for the old order has passed away. When you statesmen pulled off this war, or failed to stop it, you started something! You grasped the nettle boldly and you never can unloose your hold without being stung to the very heart's core. You should have thought of these things on August 3, 1914—the day before!

Not a street car or elevated train is running today in all Chicago. The white workers also have struck. Did you not solemnly promise the men of toil that there should be a dividing up after the war, that there no longer would be the accumulation of swollen power and profiteering at the expense of those who tended the vineyards? Can't you statesmen understand that those who do the drudgery of the world see you and your money changers enjoying the cool breezes of summer resorts, see you only in your clubs and exclusive hotels while they go about in the agony of soul and body endeavoring to clothe and feed their children, even to pay the landlord lest they be ejected into the streets? Can't you see this was not an ordinary war? Can't you understand this war was not a political campaign in which you could promise anything to win by? This was a world convulsion, touching every human being on the earth. And the masses of earth are now aroused, because you fascinated them with your lure of words, spoken at a time of great emotion, at a time when you were facing what you were pleased to term the menace of autocracy for the whole human family. Our time is likened unto a trained elephant that, suddenly going mad, snaps the slender chain of control from the superior mind and rends the tent in ribbons.

And it will not longer avail to shout "pro-German" every time an American thinks of America, or "Bolshevist" every time a coal miner asks for a little better division of the profits. That

scarecrow has ceased to function.

The masses are not to be blamed if they do not understand the mental processes of statesmen and their reservations based on expediency—after the danger is over. They took you at your word. They will have nothing less. The masses are not thinking of expediency. They are thinking of LIFE.

They demand that you now divide up—both liberty and privilege.

President Wilson, the press dispatches asserted, was greeted with the “rebel yell” as he entered the chamber of the United States Senate, forty-eight hours after his return from Europe with a covenant of the so-called League of Nations. It was not the “rebel yell” of Ireland, but the “rebel yell” of the late Confederate States of America which, temporarily, seceded from the Union, even as royalist Ulster now seeks to separate herself from the rest of Ireland. The yell was not, we may be assured, uttered by way of emphasizing the ascendancy of the South in the present American government or in an effort to gloat over the North. It was merely, since we are all united now, so far as sectionalism is involved, the pride of a birthplace. President Wilson is a native of the Southland, which sought and received help from Europe in the effort to destroy Abraham Lincoln and the Union. In this instance that help came from the Tory class of England, whose affection for the Confederacy was exceeded only by their hatred of the anti-royalist views of Lincoln. Tory England helped the Confederacy for the purpose of dismembering the Union, splitting it into warring sections, and then benevolently restoring the remnants of the upstart Yankee nation to the benign wing of His Majesty the King—King of Great Britain and Ireland, Emperor of India, and the Islands of the Seas, by the alleged grace of God, and not by accident in a royal bedchamber.

Be that as it may, it is not at all amazing that there should exist, even at this late day, a sort of lingering sympathy with Great Britain in the American Southland, since gratitude for aid even in a wrong cause, or a losing cause at least, is not altogether reprehensible.

These observations are here made lest our cousins back in “Mother” England, having no means of understanding other than the press dispatches, stupidly rush headlong into the bally rot that the United States Senate, with all its augustness, has degenerated again to the extremely and extraordinarily low level of “unparalleled effrontery” where it was possible, even permitted, to join in vociferating:

“Up Ireland!”

CHICAGO, July 28, 1919.

C. N. W.

CHAPTER I

THIRTY DAYS

FUNDAMENTALLY, Ireland has been a nation for about thirty-five hundred years. It was not, however, until April and May, 1918, that the fundamental character so often expressed in abortive uprisings since Strongbow (1170) defined the state as a Republic.

The approximate thirty days between the middle of April and the 19th of May will be recorded by impartial history as marking the most significant coming together of the people's minds in Ireland's history; or the bringing to the surface at least of the centuries-old thought that lay nearest to Ireland's heart. In these thirty days, Ireland in its soul became a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

On many occasions since the twelfth century groups of Irishmen in Ireland had proclaimed some form of self-government, but not until the epochal thirty days of 1918 had the overwhelming majority struck hands to take the final plunge—a Republic. For weal or woe, that compact has been consummated, and the men and women, even children, of the new order seek neither compromise nor quarter of the "de facto" government in the island. On the pronouncement of Sinn Fein they have staked their lives. That may mean the eventual massacre of the majority by an immeasurably stronger military force from England. If that is the alternative, then massacre it will be, for England, in our judgment, is not now dealing with an isolated group; she is not playing the North against the South; or Protestant against Catholic. She is now dealing with a majority (whether that majority be in the right or in the wrong is beside the question), and faces the alternative of dealing squarely with that majority, as it understands squareness, or resorting to a slaughter that will shock the civilized (?) world.

This tremendous amalgamation of fundamental sentiment, this bringing together of all nationalistic factions for liberty or death, was due to two major acts of the English government, namely, the threatened conscription of Irish youth for military service (which, as subsequent narrative will disclose, was believed by the Irish to be involved in subterfuge) and the swooping down upon the Sinn Fein and Republican leaders, men and women, on May 18, 1918, their deportation across the Irish sea,

and their incarceration in English internment camps, jails and convict prisons.

The surge in men's minds and hearts was terrible. Whether they died that moment was a matter of utter indifference. Hatred of England reached a new high point. To the eye-witness of these events, this rending of the veil of restraint, this irruption of the soul of a people, arising in its majesty to proclaim to all the world that it was ready for the firing squad or the scaffold, but never again would submit alive to the imposition of governmental rule by any outside power on the earth, regardless of whether that rule might be good or bad—to one detached and viewing the spectacle as from a hilltop—it was inspiring.

David twirling his sling! A mere handful defying the bayoneted legions of an Empire—boldly challenging the last stand of rule by force, of entrenched government of a nation by another nation—voiding their rheum in the very eye of his majesty the king! For the handful said:

“To hell with the king!”

In the presence of such audacity the king's legions at first were transfixed with awe and admiration. The immensity of their daring provoked the applause of their executioners. Here was something without fear, jeering at physical death, defying the opinion of the world, something divested of flesh and blood. Here was the Ego of a nation. Here was a naked soul.

The Swiss guards were giving away again; 1789 had become 1918. It was not altogether the cry of desperate men; it was the lusty exuberance of free men, bursting a shackle for the moment, though they die with the next exhalation.

Erin had arisen from the sepulchre.

Aut vincere aut mori!

We may question their discretion; we stand uncovered contemplating their courage.

The amalgamation did not include all. There is yet a small class in Ireland that is not Irish, other than that of residence. Those who comprise this group despise the real Irish, the Irish who love the traditions as well as the sod of Ireland. They venerate the king. They are thorough-going royalists. They are Anglo-Saxon at heart, neither Celts nor Gaels. They may be termed the “big-business” group. They have their roots in Threadneedle street. They are intolerant, fanatical to an amazing degree and unwilling to co-operate with the vast majority in making Ireland the shrine at which the nations of the earth, with good grace, might attend in commemoration of the land whence came



Ramon de la Cruz

IN UNIFORM OF EASTER WEEK, 1916.



the liberties of so many peoples. For purposes of identification, they are termed the Ulsterites, which is misleading in a degree. Not all Ulsterites are royalists, opponents of any kind of self-government. But most all royalists are Ulsterites, excepting a comparatively small group of Unionists in the South. However, Ulster, geographically speaking, is rapidly swinging to the Republican side. The expatriation of half a dozen leaders in the North probably would result in a comparatively short time in removing the sectional line and the religious line also as it relates to internal politics.

What remains of the wall that keeps Catholics and Protestants apart in Irish politics is sustained by adroit leaders, and the truth is that this intolerance is confined for the most part to the implacable Catholic baiters of the North of the Carson type. At the same time, many of the persistent Republicans in Ireland are Protestants from the North.

It would not be fair to picture the royalists of Ulster as men without many sterling qualities. They are rugged. They are not immoral, though possibly unmoral politically. They are builders. They are successful. They are the best haters in the world. They differ from their fellow-men in the South and West in that they never or rarely forgive or forget. The southern Irishman will shake hands with and forgive an antagonist, after he has given him a good thrashing. Not so with the royalist of Ulster; he carries the vendetta to his grave. He still hates those he has conquered, and he is in one respect comparable to the soul of liberty-loving Ireland—he, too, is unconquerable, in his soul, and that is why the Protestant rebel in Ireland's history stands out so conspicuously in the tortuous story. When he does take a stand for self-government, he is an even more irreconcilable foe of England than the Catholic. This may account for the fact that so many Presbyterian ministers faced the firing squad and mounted the scaffold after the '98 rebellion. The fact, however, remains that that portion of Protestant Ireland which still adheres to the king is in the small minority, and if Ireland is to be considered even in theory a nation, then it follows that the minority must submit to the majority, since rule by minorities is subversive of the very principle of human liberty.

Royalist Ulster is important in the new day only as it now has the backing of the British government, with the British army and navy and air force at its disposal. Which is a considerable backing, it must be admitted. It may not always be so supported, for this is a day when governments change over night, even great governments; a day when the whole world is growing warm on

the proposition that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.

England, in the course of political evolution, may not prove the exception. Should the labor forces in England overthrow the present government and force the king to recognize them in the forming of a new cabinet, Ireland's road would be much smoother. Immediate Dominion Home Rule could then be had for the mere consent to have it. And Ulster would submit, despite the bitter diatribes against republicanism that have obsessed the North since 1912. The recognition of the Irish Republic probably would soon follow the ascendancy of the labor party at Westminster.

CHAPTER II

"MURDER AFOOT"

THE infinite mischief done in Ireland by the passage of the conscription act was not underestimated by the English people themselves, both press and populace. In this connection the distinction should be kept in mind constantly between the English governing class and the mass of the English people. There was a very considerable revulsion of feeling against the proposed conscription of Ireland on the part of the English masses, who themselves were submitting to it without serious protest. This paradox might have been due to the fact that in England the thought was quite strong that conscription for Ireland was aimed more at Irish nationhood than it was intended to increase the fighting forces. Perhaps this opposition to their own government's act was nowhere more pronounced and more radical than among the organized labor forces of England. They immediately, through their executive committees, passed ringing resolutions, demanding that the conscription act be recalled, so far as Ireland was involved, and that the government should set itself at once to providing a large measure of self-government for Ireland. Out of the mouths of Englishmen themselves, whose loyalty and patriotism could not possibly be questioned, came the fiercest denunciation of the government's program for Ireland. A considerable faction of the British people had no misunderstanding as to what, in the final analysis, conscription of the people on the other side of the Irish sea would mean, particularly with respect to the enmity it would engender both in the British dominions and elsewhere.

In May, 1918, the *Manchester (England) Guardian*, an eyewitness to all that was doing, privileged to understand in an unusual degree what was going on behind the scenes in Westminster, and speaking as an English publication, assuming to voice the sentiment of the masses of the English-speaking people themselves, printed the following editorial:

"The signs accumulate that deadly work is preparing for Ireland. Yesterday it was stated that free intercourse would cease a few days hence, and people could travel to and from the country marked down for the rule of force only by permit. Today we learn that the Commander of the Forces in Ireland, Sir Bryan Mahon, wise and humane soldier and good Irishman, is resigning his post and it is natural that Irishmen should draw from the fact

no happy augury. To those who may think that the violation of Ireland now planned by our Prime Minister and his government is a small and passing matter, we would commend the letter, which we publish today, of one of Ireland's best-known writers and finest spirits, Mr. G. W. Russell, the admired 'AE.' It is not for lack of warning that this crime against this country, no less than against Ireland, will be committed; it is for lack of imagination, lack of attention, lack of the understanding which comes only of knowledge and sympathy. We do not think the mass of the people are to blame. They do not realize that murder, the murder of a nation, is afoot. When they see the work begun, they will be shocked, perhaps horrified, but it will be too late. That is the burden of 'AE.'s' warning. And what, meanwhile, are our Liberal leaders doing? Now, surely, is the time for them to speak, or forever hold their peace."

Mr. George W. Russell, here referred to, comes of Ulster Protestant stock. No inflation of the imagination can in any wise picture Mr. Russell as prejudiced in behalf of Irish nationalism because of Catholic leanings. On the contrary, were the tree inclined as the twig was bent, all his prejudice would be in opposition to the majority of the Irish people. Russell can in no manner be put down as a special advocate of the Irish freedom cause on the ground that his early training was in that camp. He has perhaps one of the greatest intellects in Ireland today. Russell is not one of those who would like to see Ireland exalted by the destruction of the British Empire. Great soul that he is, fired with an unconquerable zeal for the free play of a sovereign power in Ireland, yet, doubtless, he dreams of the day when peace and good will may come back to Ireland not only as between Ulster and the South, not only as between Protestant and Catholic, but also as between Great Britain herself and the Irish nation.

It is, therefore, important that Russell's appeal in this dark hour of hatred and mounting revolution in Ireland should be read by Americans. If an unbiased American tribunal sought an unbiased opinion in Ireland, perhaps no one man in the island would be better equipped, both by intellect and fairness, to lay down the whole case than Russell. At the very hour the British government was perfecting the machinery to deport from Ireland Ireland's real leaders, both intellectual and patriotic, Russell issued his brilliant appeal to the English government to stop and take stock of what it was about to do before it was too late. His appeal was not that of an unfriendly critic, at least not that of an unintelligent critic. His appeal came from the heart of a man who loved his fellow men, who still loves them, and still prays in

his sanctum (for he rarely goes to church, although a man of very deep reverence for the Christian creed), that the voice of God, in so far as it can be interpreted by finite mind, shall be listened to by all peoples of the earth.

At the very moment this appeal was wrung from this fine soul, Gough's Fifth Army had all but been annihilated and the German hordes were on the way to Soissons, to Montdidier, to Belleau Woods, to Chateau Thierry, and to Paris; it was at the moment when perhaps neither political nor military leader could clearly see what was ahead; almost anything was possible. It was the supreme crisis of the great war, with the whole world trembling in the balance.

Keenly appreciative of this situation, the soul of George Russell spoke to his people in England, saying:

"Undeterred by any warnings from those who know us, our rulers seem determined to force military service upon the Irish people. The people of England should realize the danger, not merely to Ireland, but to the Empire, of the policy of those they maintain in power. The situation is full of such tragic possibilities, that truth should be spoken now as if men were speaking to God and not to one another. I write as an Irishman interpreting my own people, but not, I hope, without understanding and sympathy for the people of England. I would not willingly wound any in this crisis of their history, for I know there is hardly a household in Great Britain to which death has not drawn nigh, and its people are bitter at heart about my people, are judging and condemning them. They have cried out against the law which left Ireland free to act as it willed in this war, while with them everything from boyhood to the verge of age was summoned for the need of the state. In theory, Ireland is part of the United Kingdom. In theory, it has obligations to the Empire. Acting now on that theory, the state imposes military service on behalf of the Empire on the manhood of this country. It is met at once by Irish Nationalism everywhere in unanimity in refusal to obey that law. It is this opposition I wish to interpret. I would not have any think it is either factious or ignoble. However painful it is for English people to hear it, the truth must be told.

"What is opposed to our rulers, what they are trying to overcome, is the soul of a nation. They have never understood the subjective life of Ireland, because they were contented with domination over all that was apparent. Your people, in their schools and universities, have been taught that Ireland was an integral part of the United Kingdom. You made a law, and it become so. Ireland as a nation disappeared for you but never so to its

own imagination. It never accepted the Union. Never at any time was there a psychic tie corresponding to the physical fact. British authority at all periods in Irish history, as today, rested solely on superior power. There was never a year in the seven centuries of that dominion when the vast majority of the people were not opposed to it. When overcome in rebellion they waited sullenly, silently and steadfastly for the hour of doom falling upon this, as upon all empires in history. They desired to manifest their genius in a civilization of their own. That feeling has been as deep, indeed much deeper, and more self-conscious since the act of Union was passed; and today, partly through a recovery of the ancient culture, partly by the reaction against state policy, that self-consciousness of nationality is more vivid, passionate and dominant than at any period in Irish history.

"It is at this moment the Irish nation is denied rights over either soul or body. The principles for which Great Britain is contending in this war may be right. Many who most bitterly oppose British policy in Ireland think they are right. But the enemies of Ireland would not have free service. Their agents here, as I know, and as it was confessed to me, objected to Nationalists and Catholics enlisting in the army, as it removed the main argument against self-government on which they relied. They wanted Nationalists dragged as slaves and humiliated, and this at a time when self-consciousness and pride in nationality had become a burning flame. Sympathy was turned to indifference. Indifference was fanned into hostility, and I am afraid hostility is changing to bitter hate. I see all this with grief. I have always believed in brotherhood between peoples, and I think that hatred corrupts the soul of a nation. This last exercise of authority over us is not merely bringing death to the body, but to all that is spiritual, gentle or beautiful in the Irish nature.

"Our people look on this last act of British power with that dilated sense of horror a child might feel thinking of one who had committed some sin which was awful and unbelievable, as the sin against the Holy Ghost.

"What power, they wonder, except one inspired by spiritual wickedness, would weave this last evil for a land subdued, force it to warfare to uphold a power it hates, that has broken it, that has killed its noblest children, overthrown its laws, taken the sceptre. They turn in appeal to the Master of Life and supplicate Him, and they believe by conscience they are justified in resistance even to death.

"I cannot expect many in England to sympathize with Irish feeling, but I may ask them to consider it in relation to the future



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

WALKING THROUGH HIS NATIVE VILLAGE, CRICCIETH, WALES, WITH HIS ELDEST SON, A LIEUTENANT IN THE BRITISH ARMY.



LLOYD GEORGE IN LON'ON

weal of the Empire. If they persist in forcing military service upon Ireland, if they persist in breaking the Irish will, there will not be a parish where blood will not be shed. There will grow up a hate which will be inextinguishable, lasting from generation to generation. It will be fed by tradition everywhere, and our people live by tradition. 'Here this man fell.' 'There that group made their last stand.' No expression of regret after the deed is done will wipe out those memories. They will be like that stain upon the hand of the queen in the darkest of all tragic dramas—the stain which was ruddy to the spiritual sense, and no purifying water could cleanse it. It will invade that great Republic where so many millions of our exiled children have their homes.

"The Irish are capable of the most bitter as of the most gentle speech, and the darker side of that eloquence shall be turned against you. Millions of the bitterest tongues in the world will be incessantly wagging, breeding sedition in your dominions, and hostility against you in whatever alien state they may live. There are already many burdens laid on the weary Titan of empires. Will this burden be laid on it also?

"I ask English people to consider in connection with this question, what may be the effect on the dominions of an unsatisfactory and inconclusive peace. When they go back, in the moral revulsion which comes on all communities after prolonged shedding of blood, when they think of the deed they have done, how life and treasure have been wasted, and have not even—for this is possible—the pride in victory to uphold them, will it not lend force to those already numerous voices which hold that the tie of empire is a danger, involving young nations in ambitions and policies which hinder their growth? Rightly or wrongly, such things will be said, and none will argue them, none will lend them force and fire more than the Irish in the Empire.

"I ask how, in the face of this, state policy in respect of Ireland can be justified? The state has listened to bad counsellors. It consulted those who hated Irish nationality and not those who loved their country and who might have won it, through freedom given, to befriend and defend you also. The state listened to the few in Ireland and turned a deaf ear to the multitude. Now it needs the multitude; and what use to the state are those counsellors who opposed Irish nationality, who have no respect for it, and who, as that memorable day of national protest showed, had not even respect from their own employees, for in three-quarters of Ireland no train ran, no work was done, no shop was opened, no newspaper appeared?

"You speak to a wide public. Through you, I wish to make

clear the feeling among my countrymen ere the deed is done and there remains nothing but a destiny. I have encroached much upon the space a paper can allot to its correspondents, but if this deed is done, you will have many columns recording things which will horrify whatever conscience remains in the world.

“What moral strength can come to you from a nation broken in its pride, shamed and bleeding? What aid to military power will be those who would now as readily turn their arms upon your officers as the enemy, for to such a pass has the unwisdom of our rulers brought this country? I say to the English people, drop this thing and seek the way of friendship. It is not yet too late. Allow Ireland the freedom in government the majority of its people ask for, and trust to those who are free to defend a freedom guaranteed by imperial law.”

CHAPTER III

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN

STANDING beside Mr. Russell, considered by many scholars one of England's foremost historians, is Alice Stopford Green, widow of J. R. Green, whose history of the English people is well known.

It was the writer's privilege to spend many charming and instructive hours with this distinguished woman in her little den off Stephen's Green in Dublin, at the very time Gough's Fifth Army was being destroyed.

Mrs. Green's ancestors were unbending Unionists. She was brought up in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the established church of the English government. Her grandfather was the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Meath at a time when it was considered an act of piety to cut off the head of an Irishman who professed the Catholic faith. Her father was a high functionary in this same established church in Meath. She was reared in Meath, surrounded entirely in her youth by influences, particularly religious, that made for intolerance and bigotry in a day when awful crimes were done in the name of Jesus of Nazareth.

Mrs. Green is not a member of the highest standing of her church today. She has not left her church; neither has she affiliated herself with any other church. She told the writer that, against her will and all the forces of her nature, she was impelled to turn away, shudderingly, from the sheer ferocity that was borne in upon her as she was preparing the manuscript for her mediaeval history, King Henry II. So that any observations of Alice Stopford Green, interpreter of the inner shrine of a people, can in no manner whatsoever be construed as actuated by Catholic prejudice against the Castle government. We shall meet up with her again in this chronicle and a word of appreciation will be timely here.

Mr. Green lived about five years after their marriage. He was a professor at Oxford. It was a love marriage in its finest sense. Her remarkable influence, the physicians said, prolonged his life at least three years. They were forced to go into the south of Europe for his health, and, while nursing him, she derived from this association her husband's passion for the drama of history. At his death she spent three years revising his history of England and writing the epilogue. Her next pretentious undertaking as a historian was the history of Henry and Strongbow and their

times. Mr. Bryce, former English Ambassador to America, has stated that this work is one of the most brilliant pieces of historical writing on mediæval times of which he has any knowledge. In addition to a prodigious amount of short stories, essays and observations on current events, Mrs. Green finally, at the request of English publishers, wrote her celebrated history of Ireland under the title of "Irish Nationality."

The writer desires to digress at this point to suggest that this small volume alone, could it be placed in the hands of all thinking Americans, particularly in the hands of Protestants, such as I am, who in their early years perhaps got the impression that the Irish question was a religious question, doubtless would take the Irish question entirely out of American religious politics.

In the months of April and May, Ireland's attitude at once raised the question of loyalty and disloyalty in the minds of Americans who had at best but a superficial, if not prejudiced, knowledge of Irish history and Irish character. Americans could not understand readily why Ireland, even after the United States had entered the great war, was resisting conscription, was refusing to contribute more of its man power to the successful prosecution of the war. It was perhaps the strongest indictment that England was able to bring to play against Ireland among the nations of the Allies. It was at this critical period that Mrs. Green handed to the writer a brochure on this topic. The censorship was such in Ireland and Great Britain that she despaired of its reaching the public. Lord Decies, husband of Vivian Gould, of New York, was then chief censor of Ireland, and although he was even stretching a point to preserve as far as possible the freedom of the press, it was not thought probable that he could, in view of his obligations to Great Britain, permit the general circulation of this statement. Accordingly, Mrs. Green delivered to the writer a proof of the subjoined statement. Whether it has since appeared in the regular channels, I know not, but it was her suggestion that, if we thought it worth while, it should be cabled to America. For obvious reasons, this was not done. But she left the article in my keeping with explicit permission to make whatever use of it I saw fit. As a companion piece to Mr. Russell's appeal to England to understand Ireland before it was too late, Mrs. Green's appeal to America to try to understand Ireland is here recorded. She wrote, under the caption of "Loyalty and Disloyalty":

"A great Frenchman a hundred and fifty years ago, wondered that the world had not forever condemned the most evil of all forms of government—the rule of a Nation by a Nation. Such a rule is, indeed, the most tyrannous and the most intolerable, leav-

ing the people under it more helpless for resistance and more emptied of hope than any other system.

"Government by a Nation is, so to speak, eternal in its monotony. Emperor or king may die, and his authority pass to a successor of other views; a nation never dies, nor departs from its fundamental character. There can be no change of outlook on its own special interests, which have been created by its situation; and from age to age its preoccupations remain the same, only increasing in intensity.

"A single ruler and his personal advisors may hear an appeal to reason; it is another matter to convince a nation made up of millions of private wills and of thousands of jealous interests, not to speak of ignorances and prejudices. The passions of the crowd rise in flood to a torrent uncontrollable and irresistible. Even tyrant kings are compelled for their own safety to follow and yield to public opinion within reasonable time. There is no such necessity for a nation, which in its long collective life can afford to turn away from appeals of a subject race—in prosperity through indifference and disdain, in adversity through panic. It can neglect the verdict of mankind, for the greater its reputation for will to power and the strength of its arms, the less it cares to court the good opinion of the external world. In the rule of one nation by another all natural safeguards for the governed are in effect swept away.

"It is this obnoxious type of government to which Ireland has been subjected for over two hundred and fifty years. As, however, the form of Irish subjection in its complete and latest expression, its final stage of evolution, is without precedent or parallel in politics, it is profitable for the student of history to trace its development.

"In earlier times of English rule, government had been formally carried on by a 'Lord' or a 'King' of Ireland, with two Houses of Parliament sitting in the Pale, and representing the Norman, French and English invaders. Heavy sufferings were inflicted on the people. But amid all evil there was some hope for the future. The position of Ireland was not wholly without dignity. It was a distinct Kingdom, co-ordinate with that of England, and was possessed consequently of rights which, as they occurred to it, in its character of a separate sovereignty, may in a manner be conveniently regarded as national rights. However foreign it may have been in its origins and in its first ideals, a Parliament in Ireland did in truth provide groundwork and some conditions of the possibility of a later national life; in fact, under the Tudor Kings this Parliament of settlers who began to call

themselves 'Ireland-men,' showed itself capable of courage and zeal in defending the claims of Ireland to liberty and justice. The kings, moreover, who coveted from Ireland a revenue to maintain their imperial state, and an army at their own bidding to increase their power, needed a prosperous and well-peopled island; and the royal policy was to encourage trade and manufacture, and to favour the towns.

"A decisive change, carrying with it tremendous consequences to Ireland, began with Cromwell, when the Commonwealth Parliament, after beheading the king in Whitehall, took on themselves his business and authority. Dominion passed to the English nation, which now took control of the Irish Lords and Commons, and of Ireland itself. The Parliament of England claimed supreme control and arrogated power to pass laws for Ireland over the head of the Irish Parliament.

"The Kingdom of Ireland was thus suddenly degraded from the high status of a co-ordinate part of the King's dominions to a strictly subordinated position. Its inhabitants became a subject people under the English Parliament. Nor did they, in becoming English citizens, secure in return the privileges of English citizenship. The Irish Parliament was now cast into abject submission to the parliament of another nation. The new authority could compel assent to its widened powers from the foreign sovereigns, William III, who held his place solely by their election, and the Hanoverian kings, also dependent on a parliamentary title. With the remembrance of one monarch beheaded and another deposed, they were of necessity wholly subdued by degrees to the constitutional system which had established their own power.

"Under this rule, Ireland suffered the utmost humiliation. The legislation of a multitude swayed by the fury of religious passion and trade bigotries, opened a new era—the era of the penal laws for the degradation of Irish Catholics, and commercial laws for the deliberate destruction of Irish industries.

"The Irish Parliament meanwhile lived on in obscure slavery to the Parliament at Westminster, till the American War of Independence gave it the excuse and the opportunity of a less ignoble life. Roused by the spirit of the country to revive its ancient state, it forced from the English government in 1782 a statute declaring that (as in old times) the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland could alone make laws for that nation, without interference from the English Parliament. With its new independence the country awoke to new life. The traveler in Ireland can still see in every small town traces of activity and prosperity that followed the work of a legislature established in the



ALICE STOPFORD GREEN

THE BRILLIANT HISTORIAN WHO HAS SO WONDERFULLY INTER-
PRETED THE SOUL OF IRELAND.

country, and interested to secure the welfare of their own people.

"The revolt and brief revival of the Parliament from 1782 to 1800 were crushed out by the Union, and from this time, the rule of the English nation became absolute. It was in a period of the darkest political reaction, when in the "Great War" the military spirit and the terror of democratic liberties were at their height, that the English Parliament established its own dominion, more powerful than of old since there was not even an apparent intermediary to stand for the rights of the subject country. Of its three Estates of the Realm, all were traditionally hostile to Ireland. The House of Lords was, in fact, a purely English assembly, for if it held a minority of absentee Irish Peers, these were of their own caste by descent and marriage alliances, by tradition and prejudice. In the House of Commons, the Irish members, with a hundred votes against five hundred and seventy, were in a position of permanent inferiority to the representatives of the English people—and were held as a negligible quantity, except in cases where it suited English convenience to use them in party strife as make-weights in the balance of power. The complaint of Irish members today, that their presence in the English Parliament is a mockery, since they are not consulted on the gravest Irish questions, nor their advice even listened to in the most momentous legislation, is but a repetition of similar protests throughout the whole of the nineteenth century. The island was tossed like a football from one English party to another in the cynical game of politics. English interests were inevitably the supreme concern at Westminster. One of England's Prime Ministers alone has visited Dublin on two occasions, for one day or two. No one—King, Lords, or Commons—doubted that Ireland must take a second place and subserve the welfare of the ruling nation.

"'How will it affect England?' was the invariable question of the English people, of their Parliament, of their Cabinet, and of the rulers sent to Dublin Castle. These officials, with their eyes fixed on the London Parliament and the shifting balance of votes there, could give little attention to the realities of Irish life.

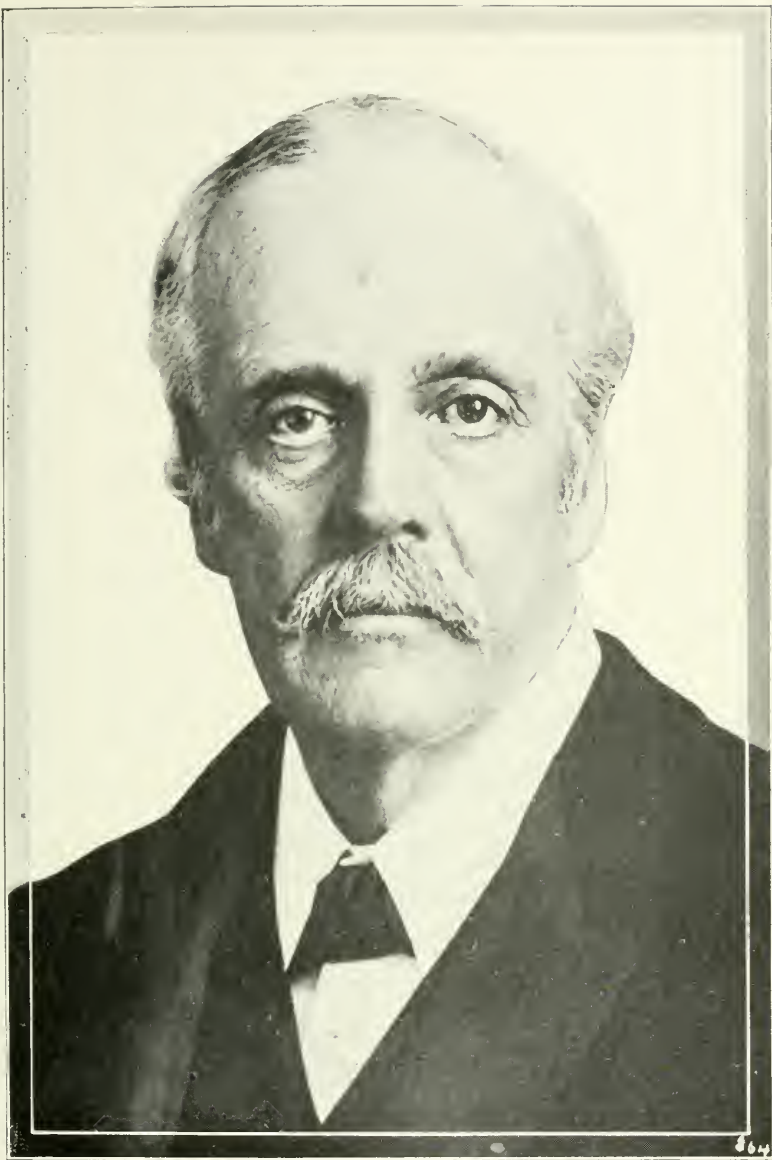
"As for the Crown, ever since English monarchs had assumed the title of "Kings of Great Britain and Ireland," they had in mind and act remained sovereigns of England, concerned about her special interests first and last, with Ireland as an outlying and alien dependency of ill repute. During six and a half centuries, five English monarchs crossed to Ireland on war and conquest expeditions. Two brief visits of state parade were made in the nineteenth century. Three have reached as far as Dublin in the last eighteen years. No single occasion can be recalled when the

king in power considered it either a right or a duty as sovereign of Ireland, to mitigate the oppression of the Irish people, or to interfere for their protection against civil or religious tyranny; the royal influence was never used even to discountenance social prejudice and contempt. In every conflict or calamity the sovereign was the defender of English superiority, and no Irish petition could reach the throne. It was not only the English legislature but the English monarchy which through all the centuries looked on the Irish with indifference, if not with marked hostility. The desperate effort of O'Connell to overcome a chilling disapproval by lavish faith and loyalty to the sovereign as ruler of Ireland is remembered by the Irish for its utter failure.

"During the nineteenth century, moreover, when England fully developed her own form of national life, the Crown became of necessity the mere expression of the will of the Prime Minister of Great Britain. With the growth of the representative system, it was recognized that the sovereign's public conduct should be entirely controlled by the Head of the Cabinet. The evolution of this system of constitutional government, admirably suited to the English people who had succeeded in bringing the royal action into complete obedience to their will, had in Ireland a very different result. It finally shut out from the Irish people all hope that their case, no matter what the urgency, could be submitted to the King of Ireland, save as a matter of party politics in England. All chance of his mediation with the English nation on behalf of his Irish subjects was completely barred out. In spite of the retention of the title, 'King of Ireland,' the king was king only as King of England, and reigned under the absolute direction of an English Premier. . . .

"The relation of Ireland to the Crown in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is one of the unconsidered results of the Act of Union. England, intent on her own development as a single state, and encouraged by her statesmen and her writers to regard her constitution as the most transcendent achievement of human genius, failed to consider some natural effects of absorbing Ireland into her own system. What suited her, she confidently believed, must perforce suit any state so absorbed, and should result in profit. She rejected the warning of her imperial statesman Chatham, and, untroubled by imagination or foresight, went doggedly ahead.

"As the power of the English Parliament advanced, and that of the Crown decayed, so much the heavier fell the weight of the English nation on Ireland. When the colonies with one accord refused to submit to the unnatural control of one nation by an-



ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR
ENEMY OF IRISH REPUBLIC AND BRITISH DELEGATE TO PARIS
PEACE CONFERENCE.

other, Ireland was left alone as a monument of the evils of such a form of government.

"The government of Ireland by the Union Parliament had, in fact, all the faults of the old system. Instead of a United Kingdom, one nation remained completely subordinate to the other. The Parliament of the ruling and capitalist classes had no vision of a well-peopled, strong and prosperous Ireland as a true security for the idea of an Imperial Confederation of free peoples. Still less had they any sense of obligation for the dignity, freedom, and wealth of the nation at their side. During that century, Ireland was governed by Coercion Acts, Crimes Acts, and Suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act, such as no government ever ventured to enact for Great Britain after 1817. The results of such a conception of the rule of a nation by a nation have been the depopulation and the grave economic jeopardy of Ireland.

"But there has been another consequence—the profound determination of Irishmen to realize their own national life, and in self-government to find a rule more worthy of their ancient history, and more adapted to their intellectual powers and their national needs. The force of this national demand of today is greater than any that has yet been known in this country.

"The experiment of government by the English nation, under its various forms, has been given a long and complete trial. From the first its results were inevitable. History shows universally that in government where, by the very necessity of the case, there is no appeal to reason possible, and no hope of change in the governing mind, the aggrieved subject rapidly becomes an active malcontent, and resorts to violence as the only agency of reform. So it was in Ireland. No demand for remedy was heard across the water till it was enforced by leagues of desperate men driven to extremity and by outbreaks of popular fury. It was a dreary and gloomy road, but there was none other. We can all remember the hurricane of indignation that swept over England some dozen years ago at the saying of an Irish Under-Secretary that Ireland ought to be governed by English ideas. When Major Redmond died with such gallantry the other day, the English parties at Westminster vied with one another in his praise, but neither Tory nor Liberal whispered that each party of them in its turn had flung him into prison.

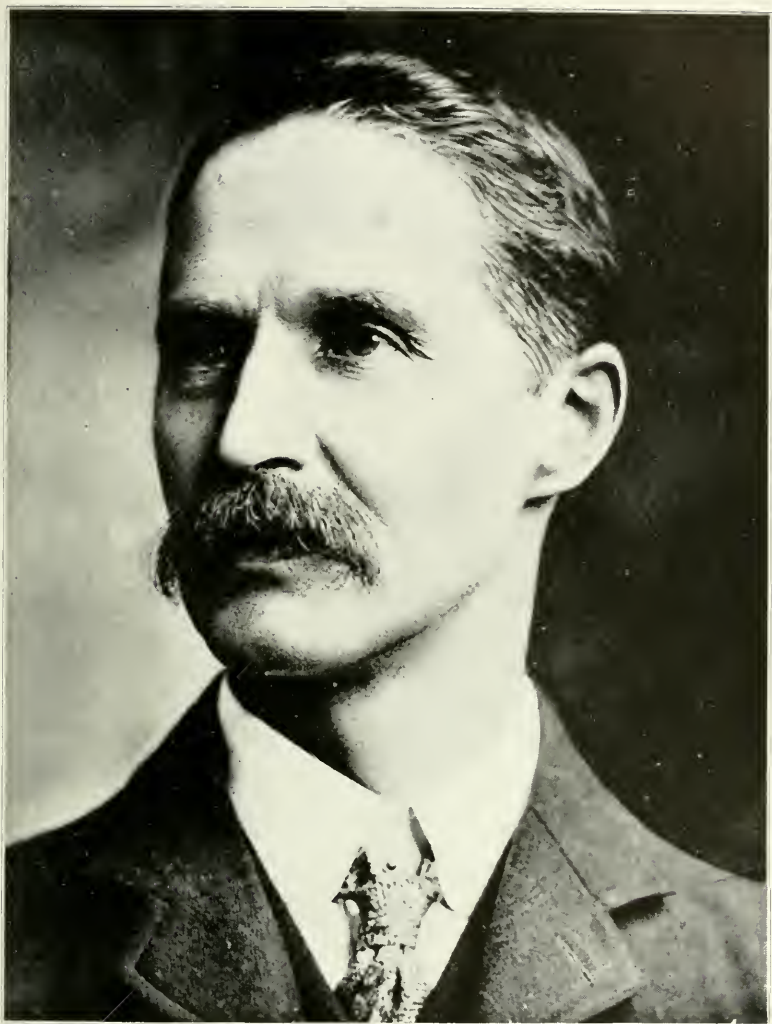
"It is obvious that it is not the 'Irish Question' which confronts us in Ireland. Our problem is 'the English Question.' It is that in one form or another which meets us at every turn, and which has now, among other matters, raised fundamental problems of government, even the discussion of Monarchy versus Re-

public. We cannot think it surprising, given the actual conditions, that there should be Irishmen who can see no way of adapting the present English constitutional system to the necessities of Ireland; even those who view with bitter enmity the appearance of a party agitating for a Republican State in Ireland must, in reason, admit that these reformers can only be understood and judged in relation to the history of the government of the Irish nation by the English nation, under a constitutional system devised by the English to suit their own national needs. It is no wonder that there are some to whom a Republic seems the only outlet.

"It must be remembered that, when this question of Republic or Monarchy engages the mind of an Irishman, it arises not as an abstract academic comparison between the advantages of monarchy and republic, but as the practical and pressing question of how to secure such self-government for his country as shall safeguard her from the dangers that follow the domination of one nation over another. The lessons learned by the methods of corrupting and of closing the Irish Parliament which were employed by the ruling English Parliament and were pursued by the Act of Union, cannot be forgotten. Nor can the Irish be expected to center their hopes on any dream of a royal sympathy (the first time in seven hundred years), with the griefs of the Irish peoples; for the way of access to the Crown has been finally barred, and the keeper of the gate is England's Prime Minister, always changing, yet always the same.

"The fact of Sinn Fein cannot be put aside by mere abuse of Republics and Republican conceptions; nor can the difficulties which its actual being creates for British 'managing' politicians be surmounted by bribing a cohort of placemen to sing the National Anthem of England with lusty simulation of sincerity. Some deeper understanding of the realities of the Irish problem is now demanded, and a loftier intelligence to find the remedy of so great a need. Every fresh inquiry demonstrates the hazardous state of the country, where the economic conditions afford no sound basis for the people's life, where a population by nature extremely robust, is enfeebled beyond measure by poor living and disease, by a high death-rate, and a lamentable birth-rate, by late marriages, by emigration, by every evidence of insecure national existence. The Irish contribution to England, measured by taxable capacity, was reckoned in 1895 at one-sixteenth of what Great Britain can afford; economists now estimate it at one-thirty-second.

"On all sides, Irishmen see grave outward signs of the failure of rule by one nation over another. To all the world the evidence is clear of a people haunted in their own land by sor-



ANDREW BONAR LAW

CHAMPION OF ULSTER REBELS AND WHO REBELLED HIMSELF INTO THE CABINET AND WAS ONE OF ENGLAND'S DELEGATES TO THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE.



row, unrest, and indignation—a people who everywhere else prove active and contented citizens. The call of America to freedom is again heard after a hundred and fifty years, a call to the ‘universal dominion of right by a consent of free peoples,’ to a ‘world safe for democracy, its peace planted on the trusted foundation of political liberty,’ to ‘the rights of nations great and small, and the privileges of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience.’

“In such a world, the rule of one democracy by another is unthinkable.

“If self-government is to be won for the Irish nation under a monarchy, there must be a new relation of the Crown and the Irish nation. If there is to be a Commonwealth of peoples, it must be everywhere based on that equality of rights from which alone friendship and alliance can spring, and a conception of government must arise which rejects all idea of the subjection of a nation to a nation.”

CHAPTER IV

A SIMPLE SYLLOGISM

EAMONN DE VALERA at Bunker Hill was not an apparition. It was a sequence. It was the completion of the syllogism begun in the Ulster rebellion of 1914 and laid down in the acts of conscription and deportation of 1918. It was Destiny, inexorable and just.

Others were there though unseen. The O'Neills were there—the O'Neills of the red hair—and Brian of Clontarf, and Grattan and Emmet and Tone and Sarsfield, and O'Connell and Mitchel—and Padraic Pearse—and a great many others, come to meet other great spirits whose souls forever shall hover here, even as they died here.

And when De Valera had come up to the obelisk he wrote on a small card, in this wise:

“The liberties of my country are safe.”

George Washington spoke the words. They comprehended the vision conveyed in the report of the battle—how the leader of that little band, many of whom were of Irish descent, because of a shortage of powder, ordered them not to fire until they could see the whites of the Britishers' eyes!

Turning to the group that accompanied him to the Sacred Mound, the Ringsend Commandant of Easter Week said:

“So far Ireland's history has been a Bunker Hill. For her friends that is a surety that Ireland's liberty, too, is safe. In her defeats there is victory. She, too, awaits her Yorktown. On behalf of the dead who died for Ireland and whose blood has made every rod of that land as sacred to Irishmen as is this soil sacred to America—as their representative and the trustee of the party for which they gladly gave their lives, I offer this tribute to America's gallant dead. I feel it will be sweet, not merely to their brave spirits, but to the spirits of the brave in every land who died battling for Liberty's holy cause.”



LORD ROBERT CECIL

TORY OF TORIES AND BRITISH DELEGATE TO THE PARIS PEACE
CONFERENCE.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST "GERMAN PLOT" IN IRELAND

IT is a reasonable postulate that had it not been for the Ulster rebellion of 1914 the world war might not have taken place. The assassination at Sarajevo was not *ipso facto the casus belli*. It was merely seized upon as the expedient; that is, Germany, at any rate, could have blocked the breaking out of hostilities by interposing an objection to the Hapsburg ultimatum to Serbia. Whether Germany took the lead in precipitating the war, Germany's is the responsibility for not having prevented it, and in all probability Germany would not have hastened into the conflict had she been certain Great Britain would have come in immediately on the side of France and Russia.

Mr. James W. Gerard, American Ambassador to Germany at the outbreak of the war, in his book, *My Four Years in Germany*, says:

"The raising of the Ulster army by Sir Edward Carson, one of the most gigantic political bluffs in all history, which had no more revolutionary or political significance than a torchlight parade during one of our presidential campaigns, *was reported by the German spies as a real and serious revolutionary movement*, and, of course, *it was believed by the Germans that Ireland would rise in rebellion the moment that war was declared.*"

Baron Beyens, Belgian Minister at Berlin, reviewing the situation as it appeared to German officials, sent the following dispatch from Berlin, July 26, 1914, nine days before the war broke out:

"For the rest, England, which during the last two years Germany has been trying, not without success, to detach from France and Russia, is paralyzed by internal dissensions and her Irish quarrels."

Doctor E. J. Dillon, telegraphing from Vienna on July 26, 1914, the same day that Baron Beyens forwarded his dispatch, set forth the reasons why Austria expected a free hand in dealing with Serbia. One of the reasons was stated as follows:

"It was a moment when the cares of the British government were absorbed in forecasting and preparing for the fatal consequences of its internal policy in regard to Irish Home Rule, which may, it is apprehended, culminate in civil war."

Late in July, 1914, with Europe poised on the brink of the world war, and the danger apparent to all embassies in Europe,

Sir Edward Carson, at Belfast, reviewed the Ulster rebel army, which was equipped with the Mauser rifles secured in Germany a few months before, and which army was organized for the announced purpose of precipitating both rebellion against Great Britain and civil war in Ireland to defeat Home Rule.

"Among the forty reporters said to be gathered in Belfast," Mrs. J. R. Green has recorded in her *Ourselves Alone in Ulster*, "there were three or four Germans watching the proceedings, and Baron von Kuhlmann, of the German Embassy (soon to be elevated to the post of German Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Berlin's War Cabinet), arrived quietly without information given to the press, as an honored guest to view the stirring scene, and the magnitude of the Protestant preparations for civil war. According to the boast of the Covenanting government, the force raised to defy the government at Westminster was so furnished and drilled as to be ready at any moment to take the field. English generals, and English pressmen, proclaimed aloud that the troops exceeded any army in training, appearance and equipment. Their defiant quality was shown the day after the conference at Buckingham Palace for the settlement of the Irish question had failed to agree and broken up, when on July 25th, the Provisional Government of Ulster organized a parade through Belfast of five thousand men in khaki, with bands, rifles and machine guns, all traffic in the streets being held up officially for the display during the Saturday."

This was ten days before the world war was declared.

In the July, 1914, number of *Das Leben Im Bild* (Life in Pictures), the well-known illustrated German paper, published subsequent to the Orange celebration of that same month, were printed two photographs, showing Ulster's preparation for civil war (*Bürgerkrieg*). Under one picture was this line, "Sir Edward Carson *verleiht einem Freiwilligen-Regiment Trommeln und Fahnen*" (Sir Edward Carson presents drums and colors to a volunteer regiment). Under another photograph, showing Ulster Volunteers manning a machine-gun battery, was this line: "*Freiwillige-erzieren mit einem auf einem automobil befestigten Maschinen-Gewechr.*" (Volunteers practice with a machine gun erected on an automobile). These photographs were taken by Kester and Company. They were circulated throughout Germany the week before the German Imperial government declared war.

In this connection, two questions were put to the government in the House of Commons of the British Parliament, subsequent to the landing of the German rifles at Larne for use of the Ulster rebels. They were:



SIR EDWARD CARSON
ADDRESSING THE COVENANTER REBELS AT BALLYCLARE.

"First. Whether under the auspices of the so-called Provisional Government of Ulster, or its central authority, or any of its committees, in the year 1913, any Germans were employed in Ireland in the drilling or equipment of military forces, and whether, soon after the landing of arms from Germany at Larne (1914) out of the ship '*Fanny*' from Bremen, Baron von Kuhlmann of the German Embassy in London, and afterwards the Kaiser's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was present at the celebration in Belfast on the 12th of July, 1914, at a review and march of troops not in his majesty's service.

"Second. How many German guns were landed at the time of the gun-running at Larne."

The government, if it was in possession of the information, did not disclose the number of German guns sent to the Ulster rebels. A reputable resident of Belfast, however, a staunch Unionist, by the way, told the writer that they received in all some 30,000 rifles from Germany. He also said that they had loaned many of them to the government to be used against the southern insurrectionists in the subsequent Easter-week uprising of 1916, and that the government had since (1918) returned the guns in better condition than when it received them. He moreover stated that the guns still were being held in readiness in the event of a revival of Home Rule legislation by Parliament.

It should be stated, in justice to Sir Edward Carson, that he emphatically denied that he ever met Baron von Kuhlmann in Ulster. It should also be stated that Mr. Pratt, on behalf of the government, declared that "There is no evidence in support of any of the allegations contained in the question," referring to the inquiry in the House of Commons as to whether Baron von Kuhlmann had visited Ulster.

Mrs. Green at Dublin, May 21, 1918, sent the following statement to the press:

"The matter was much discussed in 1917, at a time when Northeast Ulster was naturally anxious to cover up the traces of its first enthusiasm for the Continental deliverer who was to revive the tradition of an older William. On March 23, 1917, the *Northern Whig* commented on Mr. Dillon's inquiries as to what brought the Baron to Ireland, and suggested if there is any substance in his 'hinted discovery,' 'the inevitable conclusion is that the relations between the German Baron and the Nationalists wear a most suspicious look' and that 'it will be curious to learn whether Baron von Kuhlmann's mission was not connected with the Dublin Rebellion.' Sir John Lonsdale, in the same *Northern Whig*, gave a flat denial to Mr. Dillon's assertion that the Baron was in Ulster

on the eve of the war. His information seems to have been defective, for he proceeds: 'We never heard of this Baron von Kuhlmann, and know nothing whatever about him.' On March 28, 1917, however, the *Whig* quoted from a *Londoner's Diary*, in the *Evening Standard*, along with the remark that 'only Irish extremists would impute to men like Sir Edward Carson, Sir John Lonsdale, or Colonel Craig, any connection with Kuhlmann's visit,' the further statement that 'it is certain that Kuhlmann did go to Ulster, on a mission of investigation for the Kaiser, and naturally he came into contact with more or less prominent supporters of the Ulster cause. Kuhlmann's dispatch was used by Germany to help to persuade her allies that the time was opportune for war. . . . The story in all its details, of German intrigue in Ireland is, I believe, in the archives of Dublin, and will make interesting reading some day.'

"A special article in the *Daily Telegraph*, quoted in the *Freeman* of August 8, 1917, on Baron von Kuhlmann's appointment as Foreign Secretary, stated that he visited Ireland to report on the situation there immediately before the outbreak of the war. *Truth*, quoted in the *Freeman* of August 9, 1917, says: 'The association of Herr von Kuhlmann with the Carson performances in Ulster was neither absurd nor far-fetched, as some journals assert. Kuhlmann was in the North at the time, while the German ambassador, as announced in all the fashionable papers, was amongst the brilliant circle of which Sir Edward Carson was the center—assembled in his honor by Lady Londonderry at Mountstewart, County Down. The presence of these distinguished officials in far-away Ireland on the special occasion of Sir Edward Carson's histrionic appearance in Ulster, could hardly have been fortuitous.'

"The London correspondent of the *Birmingham Daily Post*, quoted in the *Freeman* of 9th of August, 1917, remarks: 'It has never been explained by Herr von Kuhlmann, or his admirers here, what precisely he was after during his friendly visit of inquiry and examination in Belfast, during the summer of 1914.'

"It was common knowledge in Ireland at the time, especially in the law library in Dublin, that Mr. Chambers, one of the Orange members for Belfast, afterwards solicitor-general for Ireland, boasted of being in communication with the German Ambassador as to the taking over of Ulster by the great Protestant power of Germany, to save Protestantism in Ireland from its betrayal by England."

On September 28, 1914, nearly two months after the war had started and the German armies had smashed Belgium and were on their way to Chateau Thierry (where they encountered the



SIR EDWARD CARSON

DRAWN BY A LONDON ARTIST. CARSON'S LAW PRACTICE IN LONDON AS A "CORPORATION" LAWYER YIELDED HIM AN ESTIMATED ANNUAL INCOME OF \$100,000.

Americans in July, 1918), Sir Edward Carson, speaking at Belfast said: "What I propose to do is in the future—may God grant it may be the near future—when the war is over, I propose to summon the Provisional Government together. And I propose, if necessary, so far as Ulster is concerned, that their first act will be to repeal the Home Rule bill as regards Ulster. And I propose in the same act to enact that it is the duty of the Volunteers to see that no act or no attempt at an act, under that bill, should have effect in Ulster. . . . We have plenty of guns and we are going to keep them. We are afraid of nothing."

At Ballymena, three days later (October 1, 1914) Sir Edward Carson said: "Let them treat the Home Rule bill—he supposed he should call it the Home Rule Act—as a nullity, and go ahead as if it never existed, and let those who dared come and try to force it upon them."

At Bolton, June 20, 1914, Sir Edward Carson said: "For my own part, the day I shall like best in the whole controversy is the day on which I am compelled, if I am compelled, to tell my men, 'You must mobilize and you must defend yourselves.'"

In the Spring of 1914, the Home Rule forces were drilling in the South and West, also preparing for civil war but in defense of Home Rule. When this was called to the attention of Sir Edward Carson he said he had no criticism to offer of the mere act of the Republican forces in arming themselves, as he had laid down the precedent himself. His words were: "I am not sorry for the armed drilling of those who are opposed to me in Ireland. I certainly have no right to complain of it; I started that with my own friends. (Cheers.) I was told at the time that I was looking for revolution two and a half or three years ahead. I was very glad. I did not mind that. We are quite ready, and we mean to go on and be more ready." This statement was made at the Ladies' Grand Council of the Primrose League, St. James' Theatre, London, May 22, 1914.

Again defying the English government to put Home Rule into effect in Ireland, Sir Edward Carson, as reported in the London Times of June 2, 1914, said: "Despite all their fleet and their other preparations, I am gong to have more Mausers!"

All of these declarations were printed and were available for whomever desired to peruse them, including the German agents.

CHAPTER VI

PURSUING THE ULSTER ANTHOLOGY

RIGHT HONORABLE THOMAS ANDREWS, P. C., Honorable Secretary Ulster Unionist Council, was quoted in the *Morning Post* (London), January 9, 1911, as saying: "If we are deserted by Great Britain, I would rather be governed by Germany, than Patrick Ford and John Redmond and Company."

Captain Craig, M. P., on whose estate the famous Ulster rebel covenant was afterwards formally proclaimed, and marked with a headstone, is quoted in the *Morning Post* (London), January 9, 1911, as saying: "There is a spirit spreading abroad, which I can testify to from my personal knowledge, that Germany and the German Emperor would be preferred to the rule of John Redmond, Patrick Ford, and the Molly Maguires." . . . At Deragh, October 7, 1911, he further declared that if Home Rule was granted, it would not matter a row of pins "whether they were separated from Great Britain or whether they were not."

The late Lord Londonderry, one of the leaders in the Ulster rebellion against Home Rule, speaking in the House of Lords, July 20, 1911, warned "their Lordships" that if a Home Rule parliament was set up in Ireland, by the government, there would be "lawlessness, serious disorder and bloodshed," and that if blood was shed, it would be the "fault of his majesty's government." He said these were strong words—but he wanted to "warn the government of what would occur." He informed his Lordships that before the Ulster Protestants would submit to rule by the majority in Ireland, "they would fight."

Major F. Crawford (the Larne gun-runner), speaking at Bangor, April 29, 1912, said that if they were put out of the Union, meaning submission to Home Rule, he would "infinitely prefer to change his allegiance right over to the Emperor of Germany or anyone else who had got a proper and stable government."

Colonel Wallace, at Lisbon, May 14, 1912, said he was not ashamed or afraid to say that he had taken a big part in the organizing of the drilling movement that was going on in many parts of the country. They had got to go on, he said, "until they saw that infernal Home Rule Bill put under their feet." When that was done, he added, then would be the time to fall out of the ranks, "but not until then. There was in that magnificent body of men (he had seen) the making of two battalions."

Colonel T. E. Hickman, M. P., at South Wolverhampton,

October 25, 1912, said: "I can assure you from my personal knowledge that this is not a question at which to laugh at all. Those men in the North of Ireland are absolutely in earnest. I can assure you that, when the time comes, these men will be as good as their word. Personally, they have all my sympathies, and I tell you—and I say this very solemnly—that when the time comes, if there is any fighting to be done, I am going to be in it."

Mr. Duke, K. C., M. P., who subsequently failed to "pacify" the Home Rulers while he was Chief Secretary of Ireland, speaking at Exeter, in October, 1912, said: "The men of Ulster have a moral right to resist, and the killing of men who so resist is not an act of oppression; it is an act of murder."

Mr. Duke here laid down the principle which, if applied literally to the Easter insurrection of 1916, would convict the English government and the English troops of the murder of the men who were executed following that insurrection. The "moral right to resist" was the moral right that Mr. Duke and Ulster claimed for themselves to resist the law of the Imperial Parliament, or the British government itself, if that law ran counter to their ideas of self-government. That was the contention in the South and West for a hundred years; that they had the "moral right" to not only resist, but to attempt to eject the British government from Ireland.

Reverend Chancellor Hobson, at Kilmovarih, Portadown, Easter Monday, 1913, said: "If Home Rule is passed, I would not care whether the British Empire went to smash or not."

The failure to put Home Rule into effect in 1914 produced the same attitude on the part of leaders in the South and West, namely: "If self-government is not granted us, we would not care whether the British Empire went to smash or not."

In 1913 Ulster's opposition was to Home Rule; complete separation had not yet swept through the island. That did not come until after the Easter insurrection, the conscription act and the deportation; but, on May 23, 1913, Mr. James Chambers, K. C., M. P., at South Belfast, said: "As regards the future, what if a day should come when Ireland would be clamoring for independence, complete and thorough, from Great Britain; what side

would they take then? (A voice: 'Germany!')” He said he bound no man to his opinions, that they owed to England allegiance, loyalty and gratitude; but if England cast them off, then he reserved the right as a betrayed man to say: ‘I shall act as I have a right to act; I shall sing no longer: “‘God Save the King.’” He said that the day England cast him off and “despised his loyalty and allegiance,” that day he would say: “England, I will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh.”

That was the philosophy of Easter week, 1916—laughing at England's calamity and mocking at her fears. The Easter insurrectionists were imbued with the apothegm enunciated by all the great rebels in Ireland's history, particularly since the Act of Union that “England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity.”

Alfred Lyttleton, K. C., M. P., speaking at Cork on May 31, 1913, in opposition to Home Rule, declared it would be a “tremendous blow against the very foundations of society, to compel the military forces of the Crown into such a position that there was grave doubt as to whether the officers and men would obey the orders given to them in the event of civil war taking place.” It was his opinion, so expressed at the time, that there were “many officers and many men who would decline to lift a hand against those he believed were fighting a righteous cause.”

Lord Charles Beresford, in the House of Commons, June 10, 1913, said: “I say and honestly think that it is deplorable that a man who has worked the whole of his life in the British service, who has been loyal to the Union Jack, should have to stand up in the House of Commons, and say that he is prepared, knowing his responsibility, to go and be one of the first to be shot down, if troops are sent to Ireland. That is not swagger. That is what I intend to do if you send troops to Ireland.”

Was not that the mental attitude of the Easter insurrectionists? Were they not willing to be shot down, when England sent troops to Dublin to enforce on them a government they did not desire?

In July, 1913, the *Coleraine Constitution* printed an open letter to Mr. Asquith, in which appeared this sentiment: “Can King George sign the Home Rule bill? Let him do so, and his Empire

shall perish as true as God rules Heaven. Therefore, let King George sign the Home Rule bill; he is no longer my king!"

The Southern Irish admitted at no time that King George was their king.

Mr. F. H. Campbell, K. C., M. P., in the House of Commons, July 7, 1913, said: "You may call these men bigots; you may call them fanatics, sullen, if you will, but they have counted the cost; they have made up their minds, and they will be faithful to the death."

This was said of the Ulster rebels, who were opposing Home Rule. Wherein does this differ, in spirit at least, from the pronouncement of Easter Week, 1916?

Major Ricardo, at Stone House, Glos., August 11, 1913, was quoted as saying that a near relative of his was in command of 30,000 volunteers (Ulster), "pledged to fight against Home Rule in Armagh."

The *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, August 27, 1913: "Sir Edward Carson had the honor in receiving an invitation to lunch with the Kaiser last week at Hamburg."

Lord Arlington, at Parkstone, September 14, 1913, said: "If there is any blood spilt in Ireland, through the government trying to force Home Rule upon Ulster, the people of this country (England) will be so enraged that they will require some blood of the members of the Cabinet, to make up for the loss of blood in Ireland. If an Irishman is killed, he can hardly be spared, but if it was a couple of Cabinet ministers, we should say, 'good riddance!'"

Sir Edward Carson at Antrim, September 20, 1913, told his Orange associates that they "had pledges and promises from some of the greatest generals in the army that, when the time comes, and if it is necessary, they will come over to help keep the old flag flying, and to fight those who would dare invade our liberty."

Four days later, September 4, 1913, the Unionist Council formally decreed itself to be the Central Authority of the Provisional Government and its Standing Committee, in defiance of England, and appointed Sir Edward Carson the head of the central authority, or President of the Provisional Government.

November 24, 1913, Colonel T. E. Hickman, M. P., at Wolverhampton, said: "You may be quite certain that these men are not

going to fight with dummy muskets. They are going to use modern rifles and ammunition, and they are being taught to shoot. I know, because I buy the rifles myself. I won't tell you where I get them from, but you can take it from me that they are the best, and if the men will only hold them straight, there won't be many Nationalists (Home Rulers) to stand up against them."

Lord Willoughby de Broke, at Norwich, November 13, 1913, said: "We are enlisting, and enrolling an army of considerable force of volunteers, who are going to proceed to Ulster, to reinforce the ranks of Captain Craig and his brave men when the proper time comes."

Mr. Preytman Newman, M. P., at Potters' Bar, December 5, 1913, said that if Mr. Asquith (the Prime Minister) did employ the British army, he would break the back of the army, and if by any chance he should bring bloodshed in Ulster by means of imperial troops (supporting Home Rule) then, in his mind, any man would be justified "in shooting Mr. Asquith in the streets of London."

Mr. Joynson Hicks, M. P., at Warrington, December 6, 1913, defied the Minister to use the British army to enforce Home Rule in Ireland. The people of Ulster, he said, had behind them the Unionist army, and behind them was the "Lord God of Battles," and in His name he said to the Prime Minister, "Let your armies and batteries fire. Fire if you dare. Fire and be damned!"

Mr. A. M. Samuel, at Old Trafford, January 15, 1914, said: "When the first shot of civil war was fired in Ulster, as sure as they stood there, one of the cabinet ministers would be hanged in Downing street."

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 16, 1914: "The first shot fired, the first act of coercion perpetrated on Ulster annihilates constitutional government in the United Kingdom, and sets free every citizen to uphold his convictions with what force he may."

Sir James Campbell, M. P., at Swansea, March 13, 1913, said: "Civil war was the path of danger, but it was also the path of duty," and he was convinced that "no other alternative was left to the Loyalists of Ulster."

What other alternative was left to the Home Rulers in Dublin in Easter Week, 1916?"

Sir A. Paget, commanding the English forces in Ireland, wired the War Office in London, under date of March 20, 1914, as follows: "Regret to report Brigadier-General Gough and fifty-seven officers, third cavalry brigade, prefer to accept dismissal if ordered

North." The proceeding to the North would have been for the purpose of enforcing the English Parliament's Home Rule law.

Brigadier-General Gough, in an interview printed in the *London Daily Telegraph*, March 25, 1914, was quoted as saying: "I got a signed guarantee that, in no circumstances, shall we be used to force Home Rule on the Ulster people. If it came to civil war, I would fight for Ulster rather than against her."

On April 24, 1914, coincident with a mobilization of the Ulster volunteers, the 30,000 German Mauser rifles were landed at Larne, County Antrim, and at Bangor, and Donaghadee, County Down.

July 26, 1914. Arms landed for the National Volunteers to defend Home Rule at Howth. Police and soldiers attempt to disarm the National Volunteers. The soldiers fire on the people at Bachelor's Walk, killing three and wounding thirty-two.

The *London Daily Mail*, April 28, 1914, printed the following: "An interesting detail of Friday night's arrangement linked up the occasion with the events at the Curragh (Gough's mutiny), which caused so much excitement five weeks ago. The password chosen was 'Gough!'"

Lord Willoughby de Broke at Stratford-on-Avon, May 24, 1914, said it was quite enough for those who desired to support the Ulstermen and at the same time to protect the Union, to know that the "net result of the whole affair had been that the British officers and men were not on that occasion available, or ever would be available, to act as the hired assassins of a radical caucus."

The Ulster covenant proclaimed and signed on September 28, 1912, was as follows: "Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship, and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of his gracious majesty, King George the Fifth, humbly relying on the God to whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant in this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending, for ourselves and our children, our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland; and in the event of such a Parliament being

forced upon us, we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names, and further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant."

One of the "first steps" in the forming of the Ulster Provisional Government to oppose Home Rule by force, by armed rebellion, was a conference of Unionist Clubs and Orange Lodges in Belfast, on September 25, 1911, at which the following resolutions were passed:

"That we, delegates of the Ulster Unionist Associations, the Unionist Clubs of Ireland, and the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland, in united meeting assembled, recognizing that the public peace of this country is in great and imminent danger by reason of the threat to establish a parliament in Dublin, and knowing that such a step will inevitably lead to disaster to the Empire and absolute ruin to Ireland, the degradation of our citizenship in the United Kingdom, and the destruction of our material prosperity and our civil and religious liberties, hereby call upon our leaders to take any steps they may consider necessary to resist the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland, solemnly pledging ourselves that under no conditions shall we acknowledge any such government nor obey its decrees, and we further assure our leaders that those whom we represent will stand by them loyally in any action they may take, and give their unwavering support in any danger they may be called upon to face.

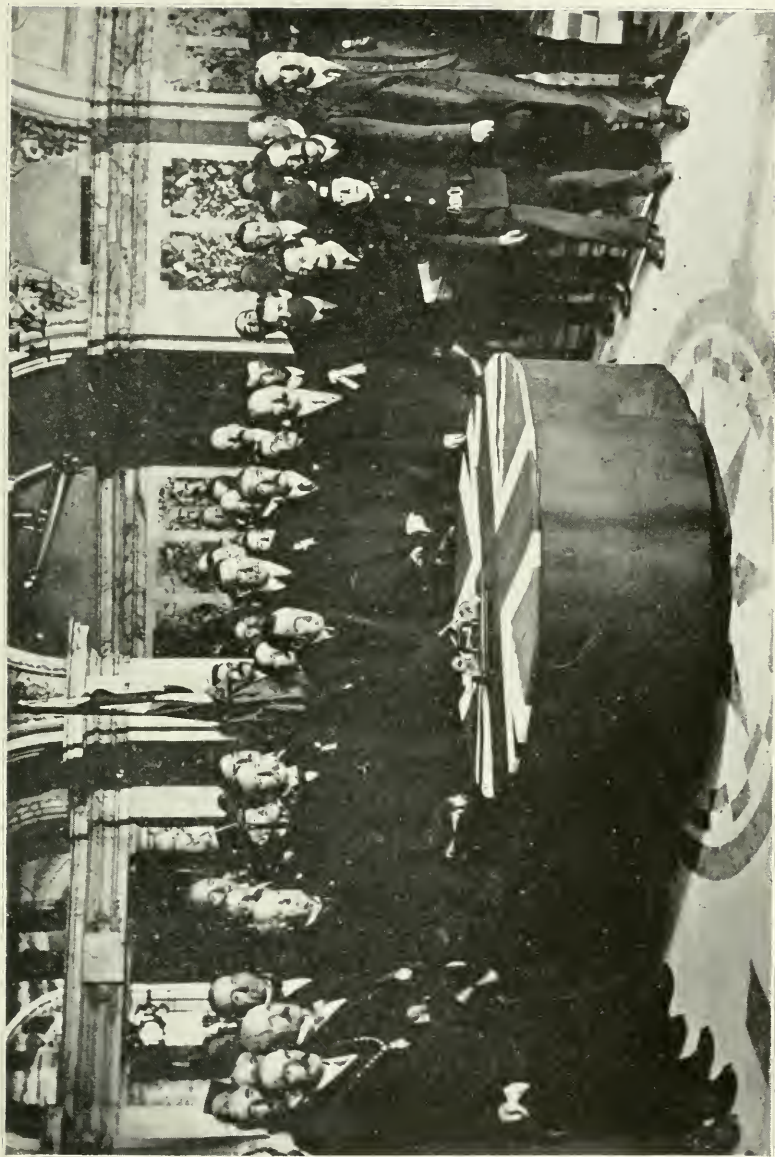
"That inasmuch as his majesty's government has intimated its intention to pass a measure of Home Rule for Ireland, and as we have again and again expressed our intention not to submit to Home Rule, the time has now come when we consider it our imperative duty to make arrangements for a Provisional Government for Ulster:

"It is resolved that we hereby appoint a Commission, whose duties shall be:

"1. To keep Sir Edward Carson in constant touch with the feeling of Unionist Ulster as represented by its various loyal organizations.

"2. And in the case of emergency, with his approval, to take immediate action.

"3. To take immediate steps in consultation with Sir Edward Carson to frame and submit a constitution for a Provisional Government for Ulster, having due regard to the interests of the loyalists in other parts of Ireland, the powers and duration of such Provisional Government to come into operation on the day of the



SIR EDWARD CARSON SIGNING THE COVENANT, SEPT. 28, 1913. AT HIS RIGHT, LORD LONDONDERRY AND LORD CHARLES BERESFORD. AT HIS LEFT, CAPT. CRAIG.

passage of any Home Rule Bill, to remain in force until Ulster shall again resume unimpaired her citizenship in the United Kingdom, and her high position in the great British Empire."

Says Mrs. Green, the historian of the Ulster rebellion:

"To complete the attributes of a self-contained state, an army was needed. Unionist Clubs had long been formed throughout the country, whose members were easily ranged into corps of volunteer soldiers. They were said to number 60,000 when reviewed by the new Ulster Provisional Government. It was now held necessary to replace volunteers with wooden rifles and cannon by troops armed for active service with modern weapons. The creation of such an army was certainly illegal. But mere illegality was not an obstacle to stop the march of Ulster. In June, 1913, a large consignment of arms was imported to Belfast as 'electrical plant.' Sir Edward Carson already anticipated 'Der Tag.' 'I like,' said he on August 3, 1913, 'to get nearer the enemy. I like to see the men who are preparing for what I call the Great Day.' A volunteer force, numbering according to report, 100,000 or presently 200,000 men, was equipped by the Ulster Provisional Government on a very sumptuous scale, with khaki uniforms, military boots, motorcycles, rifles, machine-guns, and all other necessities. *A couple of Germans assisted in their training.* An indemnity fund of a million pounds (\$5,000,000) was announced, to indemnify volunteers for loss of life and property. Ambulances and nurses were provided. Sir Edward Carson stated that, to his personal knowledge, 'the forces of the Crown were already dividing into hostile camps.' Imperialist and Unionist Ulster set no limits to its defiance of the Imperial Government, encouraged by their English friends. Sir Edward Carson's lieutenant, the 'Galloper' F. E. Smith, speaking in County Antrim on November 21, said, if war began in Ulster, 'from that moment, we hold ourselves absolved from all allegiance to this government. From that moment on, we on our part will say to our fellows in England: "To your tents, O Israel." From that moment we shall stand side by side with you refusing to recognize any law.'

"In defense of Protestant Unionism, Sir Edward Carson declared himself ready to break all laws. He professed scorn and defiance of anything done 'down in a little place called Westminster.' His insolences were studied: 'I saw,' he declared in the Ulster Hall, 'Mr. Lloyd George in his robes as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I almost mistook him for a gentleman.' Carson's followers blatantly announced their preference for a Protestant German ruler, who would revive the glorious and immortal memory of an older William. Mr. Chambers, Solicitor-General

for Ireland, gave it to be understood that he was in negotiation with the German Chancellor for the transfer of Ulster if necessary, owing to its resolve to be attached to a strictly Protestant power. When he proclaimed in the High Street of his constituency in Belfast, that, if English George signed the bill, he was for the German William, the vaunt was repeated on all sides.

"In fact, the government of the half-province justified the boast that it was ready to break all laws of the United Kingdom. A royal proclamation had in December, 1913, forbidden the importing of arms. Sir Edward Carson admitted no such control. The departure of the *Fanny* from Hamburg in 1914, laden with arms for the new army, was announced in the papers three weeks before its arrival at Larne in April, 1914. All the volunteers were called out. They guarded Belfast, where a decoy-boat was sent in to mislead the police. They surrounded Larne and Bangor, and shut them out from 'the enemy.' At the famous gun-running into the Irish harbour, the Provisional Government took possession of the King's high-roads, ran telegraph wires to earth, confined the police to barracks, seized harbours, locked up officials of the customs, rounded up suspected Nationalists, and locked them in a barn, and generally broke the public laws of sea and land. Admirals, generals, officials of the coast-guard, of police, of the post-office and telegraph service, all connived at the lawless deeds. Public law was suspended. Evidently at Larne the Provisional Government not merely claimed but exercised the right to rebel.

"England was startled. Her Prime Minister in Parliament formally denounced the whole proceeding at Larne as 'an unparalleled outrage.' The answer of the Northeast Ulster government to English tremors was unhesitating. Captain Craig, M. P., on July 9, 1914, read for the first time openly the preamble to the Constitution of the Ulster Provisional Government. The people, it stated, of the counties and places represented in the Ulster Unionist Council undertook to resist to the utmost any powers to be exercised over them by a Nationalist Government, and resolved if Home Rule was set up to ignore the Irish Parliament, and to assume and exercise all powers necessary for the government of Ulster, pending the restoration of direct Imperial government. Fresh military preparations were made for the army, now said to have reached 200,000 men. Machine guns were landed, and rest stations arranged for refugees flying from the threatened civil war. The next day, 70,000 men marched from Belfast to Drumbeg, where Sir Edward Carson declared Ulster's determination to resist by force. The Prime Minister and his

shocked House of Commons were again flouted in the Belfast celebration of the glorious Twelfth of July. At that great festival, the black pirate flag, with skull and cross-bones, was hoisted on the gate of the chief gun-runner, and as the procession passed in its multitudinous glory, Sir Edward Carson, called on to salute the lawless emblem, rose in his carriage laden with orange lilies and more than once bowed low, to tumultuous cheers, amid flags and the 'open Bibles' of wood borne aloft by the Orange lodges in testimony to their rigid creed. In this triumphant display, the name of the pirate hero of the *Fanny* and Larne gun-runner was first given to the public (Major Crawford).

"Sensational public shows, on however costly a scale of European advertisement, were but the decorative ornaments of methodical and hard cut business. The English War Office, moved by some natural fears that the new 'army' might be tempted in the interests of Ulster to appropriate some of the military stores collected in certain mobilization centers, had, before these events, proposed to send military guards to protect their own material, and had thought it prudent to appoint General Sir Neville MacCready to Belfast as military governor in reserve, in case the magistrates refused to perform their duty. He was received with shouts of 'Butcher MacCready.' Cries of agonized terror resounded, 'The English government has planned a "pogrom!"' 'There was to be a massacre of Protestants!' The country was blazing with excitement when the Provisional Government sprang to the rescue. It possessed unexploited resources in certain lofty connections and the wide-spread influences of Orange propaganda in high circles were available to organize a secret conspiracy throughout the British Army and Navy, and even the Air Force, that they should stand on the side of Northeast Ulster in all eventualities, and refuse to act against her. To their temporary annoyance the plot was accidentally revealed early in 1914 by the notorious 'Curragh mutiny,' when the illegal complicity of generals and officers became known, whose military discipline had been degraded at the bidding of faction cries, and whose larger outlook had been eclipsed by the glamour of old ascendancies. The Prime Minister took charge of the War Office. But the discomfiture of the Provisional Government was only momentary. The Prime Minister returned to his usual position. Before the scientific organization and the warlike threats of the Unionist Council, the government of the United Kingdom, over-awed and intimidated, succumbed and laid down all opposition.

"The outbreak of the war opened the second scene in the drama of the Provisional Government. The Council of the half-

province, professing an undying loyalty to the Imperial Government which it had vanquished, became the Mayor of the Palace to the defeated powers of Westminster. It consented to fill the chief places of the Law, and to guide the Imperial Cabinet according to the Ulster formulae. Sir Edward Carson and Mr. F. E. Smith undertook as Attorney and Solicitor-General to deal in England with any rebellious-minded persons less successful than themselves; and Mr. Campbell and Mr. William Moore were in due time made Lord Chief Justice and Judge of the High Court in Ireland. The higher policy was thus proclaimed identical with the higher law, to the confusion of all objectors. In course of affairs, Sir Edward Carson passed to the War Cabinet, the Admiralty, and finally to the political propaganda, by which foreign nations were instructed as to what was or was not laudable 'rebellion' in Ireland.

"All this implied no change in Sir Edward Carson's views, as Northeast Ulster might see when on a visit to Ireland as Minister of the Crown, he gracefully accepted the gift of a silver model of the *Fanny*. Meanwhile, in Belfast itself, the Ulster Provisional Government was maintained in full force, and the second stage of the Northeast movement was not less efficiently directed than the first. The Orange and Unionist Press maintained their policy of threats. The *Northern Whig*, on August 24, reminded 'three-fourths of the people of Ulster (an amazing calculation), that, if the Home Rule bill became an act, they 'must either become traitors to the Covenant which they have solemnly signed or rebels to the Crown.' On the next day, the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* commented on the suggestion to put the Home Rule bill upon the statute book with a time reservation: 'To do that would create a serious position. It would drive Ulster Loyalists into this position, that much as they desire to assist Britain's armed forces abroad at this juncture, and much as their help in that direction is needed, they would be compelled, through the government's action, to remain here for the defense of their hearths and homes against an enemy no less deadly and embittered.' [So thought Sinn Fein 1918.]

"The Unionist Council meanwhile *undertook no recruiting for the war*. There was a good deal of local effort, on natural and liberal lines, where Protestants and Catholics enlisted together, and sent out men to fight and die at Suvla Bay—all this quite apart from any effort of Sir Edward Carson. Recruiting was, in fact, officially frowned on until the leader had given the word. A letter written by Captain Arthur O'Neill from the front, urging men to enlist, was refused by a Unionist paper, because Sir Edward

Carson had made no pronouncement. In Tyrone, one who was urgent in calling for recruits was accused of 'spoiling the game' before the leader had spoken.

"Covenanters declared that, *if the Home Rule bill was signed, there would not be a single man sent from Ulster to the war.*

"Strange scenes of excitement were reported. When the act was finally passed, Ulster, demanding the partition of Ireland, showed its power by exacting a pledge that the act should not be put in force till it had been amended in this sense, as it was understood; and by securing later that it should not become law during the war, in other words, till their army had returned.

"Sir Edward Carson did not appear in Ulster till September, after the battle of the Marne. He then announced the bargain he had completed with the English government, before authorizing the use of Ulster troops by the War Office. Larne, the scene of their late triumph in gun-running, was chosen for the speech in which he stated his terms, and made it clear that there would be no change in the policy of the half province, or of its government. His first pledge to volunteers who joined the British army promised their recognition as a separate entity: 'Lord Kitchener has consented to form a division of 12,000, maintained as a separate and complete unit, without being attached to any other division.' The second pledge was an assurance that the policy of the Ulster Provisional Government and the Covenant would suffer no slightest injury:

"'I (Carson) promise you that I will reorganize the volunteers, and that when you come back you will not find Home Rule in Ulster.' By these emphatic pledges the policy was confirmed of ourselves first, ourselves last, ourselves all the time.

"The War Office kept to its pledge of a separate unit. The Ulster Volunteer Force were allowed, contrary to former rules, to retain their special cap, badges and flags worked for their use. But the essential bond of union lay in the signing of the Covenant, which was enforced on every member who joined the new division. In compelling the War Office to admit a separate and complete unit bound by a special political oath—a course unfamiliar to modern armies since Cromwell's time—Sir Edward Carson had won a notable victory for the Provisional Government of North-east Ulster. The triumph over the unity of the king's Imperial forces had indeed its natural effect on discipline, as may be illustrated by the Inniskillings, whose battalions, like the Irish Rifles, are divided between the Ulster Division and the Irish Division in the army. It was the Covenanting Inniskillings, under the protection of the Provisional Government, who felt at liberty to riot

through Enniskillen, trampling under foot and insulting Irish emblems. Meanwhile, in Ulster, no time was lost in affirming Sir Edward Carson's second pledge as to the security of the volunteers and of the Covenanters.

"Discipline was enforced with a stern hand. Even Mr. F. E. Smith, 'the Galloper,' was sternly rebuked by the *Northern Whig* for a temporary lapse, in his imperial enthusiasm, from the pure doctrine of the 'natural leaders' of Ulster arrayed against 'the spread of Revolutionary doctrine and free thought.' He was accused of attempting to recruit for the British army without strict adherence to the tactics of Sir Edward Carson, by addressing a recruiting meeting at Liverpool along with leading radicals. His intention was condemned by 'the opinion of leading Unionists as to the impropriety of his conduct,' and his apology was rejected. 'We hope he will reconsider his decision, and that no other leading Unionists will be found on the platforms with radicals.'

"Sir Edward Carson for his part refused to stand with Mr. Redmond at a recruiting meeting in Newry.

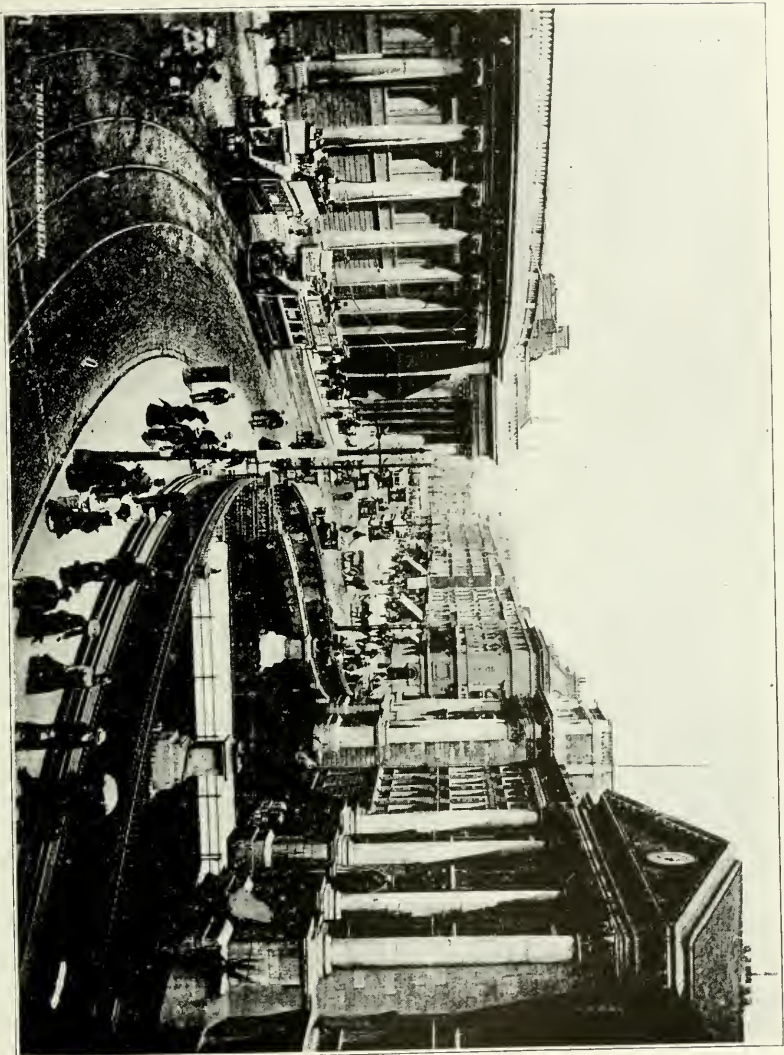
"All necessary steps were taken to reinforce the militant Covenanters. Unionists over military age, or not inclined to join the army, were encouraged to take on Ulster Volunteer Force uniform and equipment, and fill up the ranks. While it was understood that the outgoing troops would on their return be used to enforce all the demands of the Covenanters—the more efficiently, as Sir Edward Carson explained from actual experience and discipline in war—the home army was kept in being with its arms, ammunition and equipment.

"The able head of the cycle corps was retained in Belfast in a good position at a time when advertisements were posted for weeks at all the cinemas in Dublin and elsewhere calling for motorcyclists for the Ulster Division.

"When the war office was in distress for supplies, if the Covenanters released to it some of their vast stores of khaki uniforms, etc., it was at prices which were no disadvantage to themselves. By the aid of a submissive Cabinet at Westminster all who had connived at the Larne 'outrage' from generals downward were given military promotion.

"As the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* pointed out on January 17, 1917, the Larne gun-running won as many titles, honours, and offices for its organizers and patrons, as if it had been an incident in the first battle of Ypres. The major who had brought the *Fanny* into harbour was raised to the rank of Colonel, retained as the center of action in Belfast, and made head of the Commissariat. In recognition of the 'unparalleled out-

OLD HALLS OF IRISH PARLIAMENT, DUBLIN, ON LEFT. TRINITY COLLEGE ON RIGHT.
LOOKING NORTH FROM COLLEGE GREEN INTO O'CONNELL STREET.



rage' not only the military but all other consenting officials were well provided for; not one was left derelict.

"There was thus in the numerous and lucrative administrative posts at home an organization ready for future emergencies. The Protestant Primate illustrated the unity of the Ulster Volunteer Force at home and abroad, which he said could not be better described than in the words of Holy Writ: 'There were some that went forth to the battle, and others that tarried with the stuff.'

"The troops who remained at home were carefully linked with their comrades who had joined the army. Practically all the volunteer officers had immediately obtained army commissions, without further question, as their indubitable right. The roll of honour gave not only the soldier's place in the British army, but his rank in the Ulster Volunteers. The volunteers at home were as before commended to the good offices of the British army of the old intrigue. Their friends of the Curragh Mutiny were not forgotten, and in view of future emergencies, special Christmas boxes of cigarettes, with encouraging mottoes and remembrances were sent from Belfast to the officers and privates concerned.

"A leading Liberal paper in England refused to allow any information of this incident, lest it should be accused of breaking the 'truce' which had been proclaimed—a truce which the Covenanters were so cheerfully defying. In Belfast, however, the event was widely advertised; and thus, by silence abroad, and advertisement at home, Belfast enjoyed its well-organized double triumph.

"There was no lack meanwhile of sermons to glorify the unchanging fixity of the Provisional Government and the Covenant. The ladies of the movement were also useful in upholding the doctrine of ourselves first and last and all the time. In the Hospital War Supplies, and in the supply of comforts for prisoners of war, their object was to draw Ulster into a separate organization for the work of mercy from the rest of Ireland."

CHAPTER VII

MORE OF THE "DRAGON'S TEETH"

When the Irish self-government forces, Protestant and Catholic, seemed about to secure Home Rule, the Irish Churchman, speaking for the pro-royalist Protestants of Ulster, on November 14, 1913, printed the following:

"It may not be known to the rank and file of Unionists that we have the offer of aid from a powerful continental monarch (the Kaiser), who, if Home Rule is forced on the Protestants of Ireland, is prepared to send an army sufficient to release England of any further trouble in Ireland by attaching it to his (the Kaiser's) dominion, believing, as he does, that if our King breaks his coronation oath by signing the Home Rule Bill, he will, by so doing, have forfeited his claim to rule Ireland, and should our King sign the Home Rule Bill, the Protestants of Ireland will welcome this continental deliverer (Emperor William of Germany), as their forefathers, under similar circumstances, did once before."

MR. BONAR LAW, who afterwards became a high member of the British War Cabinet, and was finally rewarded by being named one of the British delegates to the Peace Conference at Paris, speaking at Larne, April 9, 1912, said: "I have only one word more to say, and that is, that if this Home Rule Bill should by any chance be forced through, then God help Ulster, but Heaven help the government that tries to enforce it."

Speaking in the House of Commons, June 18, 1912, Mr. Law said: "They know that, if Ulster is in earnest, that if Ulster does resist by force, there are stronger influences than Parliament majorities. They know that, in that case, no government would dare to use its troops to drive them out. They know, as a matter of fact, that the government, which gave the order to employ troops for that purpose, would run a great risk of being lynched in London."

At Blenheim, July 27, 1912, Mr. Law said: "If the attempt be made, under present conditions, I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will go which I shall not be ready to

support, and in which they will not be supported by the overwhelming majority of the British people. . . . We regard the government as a revolutionary committee, which has seized by fraud upon despotic power. In our opposition to them we shall not be guided by the consideration, we shall not be restrained by the bonds which would influence us in an ordinary political struggle. We shall use any means—whatever means seem to us likely to be the most effective. This is all we shall think about. We shall use any means to deprive them of the power which they have usurped, and to compel them to face the people they have deceived.”

Speaking in the House of Commons, January 1, 1913, Mr. Law said: “If you attempt to enforce this bill, and the people of Ulster believe, and have the right to believe, that you are doing it against the will of the people of this country, then I shall assist them in resisting it. . . . It is a fact which I do not think anyone who knows anything about Ireland will deny, that these people in the Northeast of Ireland, from old prejudices perhaps, more than from anything else, from the whole of their past history, would prefer, I believe, to accept the government of a foreign country rather than submit to be governed by honorable gentlemen below the gangway.”

Sir Frederick E. Smith, who afterwards became Attorney General in the British cabinet, was sent to the United States after the United States entered the war, as a propagandist to bring the American people and the English people closer together. He was quickly “chased” back home, or recalled by his government, when a wave of bitter antagonism spread across the United States.

Sir Frederick, then “Mr.” F. E. Smith, K. C., M. P., speaking at Liverpool, July 19, 1910, said: “Remember the glorious days of King William! Never shall we forget the imperishable memories of the Battle of the Boyne! No matter what the rest of the country shall say, we in Liverpool shall fight under the Protestant watchwords, ‘no surrender, no compromise’!”

Speaking at Liverpool, January 22, 1912, Mr. Smith said Ulster, in refusing to submit to nationalist domination under a trick, would be right in resisting, and he for one, speaking with a full sense of responsibility, went further and said “there was no length to which Ulster would not be entitled to go, however desperate or unconditional, in carrying the quarrel, if the quarrel was wickedly fixed upon them.”

Speaking at Nottingham, April 18, 1912, Mr. Smith said: “Speaking with a due sense of responsibility, and with the knowledge that what I say is shared by my Unionist colleagues, in the

resolution and unshakable determination of Ulster not to submit, they will have the full support not only of the Unionists of Ireland, but of the whole of the Unionist members of the House of Commons, in all risks, at all hazards, and in every extremity."

Speaking at Blenheim, July 27, 1912, in company with Mr. Law, Mr. Smith said: "I can only tell Sir Edward Carson this, and I speak with all sense of responsibility, should it happen that Ulster is threatened with a violent attempt to incorporate her in an Irish Parliament, with no appeal to the English electors, I say to Sir Edward Carson, appeal to the young men of Ireland."

Speaking at Portadown, the Protestant stronghold of North-east Ulster, September 25, 1912, Mr. Smith said: "I place on record my view that this government, if it had the wickedness—which I have difficulty in believing—is wholly lacking in the nerve to give an order to the British Army to use coercion in Ulster. Supposing the government gave such an order, the consequences can only be described in the words of Mr. Bonar Law, when he said, 'if they did so, it would not be a matter of argument, but the population of London would lynch you on the lampposts.'"

Lord Robert Cecil, who afterwards became Minister of Blockade in the British War Cabinet, and was named a British delegate to the Paris Peace Conference after the war, speaking at Baldock, February 9, 1912, said: "If Home Rule were persisted in, it would lead to civil war," and if he lived in Belfast, he would seriously consider whether rebellion were not better than Home Rule.

Mr. Walter Long, M. P., who afterwards was taken into the English Cabinet, speaking at Whitechapel, December 6, 1910, said: "If the Liberals try to force Home Rule on Ireland, there was a large section of the community—a minority, no doubt, but large, powerful, determined—who would resist their efforts with all the power and all the force they could command."

Speaking in the House of Commons, March 31, 1914, Mr. Long said: "There is not anybody on that side of the House, who has not admitted that the impossible has been arrived at, and that you will never be able to use the full forces of the Crown to enforce the bill upon Ireland."

Mr. J. Campbell, K. C., M. P., afterwards "Sir," who was legal assessor to the Ulster Provisional Government, laid down this proposition at Dublin, January 5, 1912: "He for one would never hesitate, either in public or in private, to urge and persuade his Loyalist fellow-countrymen to resort to every means, every means available to men of honor and of courage, before they

would consent to be deprived of that which was their heritage."

And so *ad infinitum*.

But one word more as to Mr. Carson. His repeated defiance of the British government—his arming of the Ulster rebels to defy the government, his repeated insistence that his band of rebellious forces in Northeast Ulster would take the field and shoot down the loyal English troops sent to enforce Home Rule—would make a heavy volume. The following excerpt, however, from his speech at Blenheim, July 27, 1912, seems to sum up his precise stand. He said: "We will shortly challenge the government to interfere with us if they dare, and we will with equanimity await the result. We will do this regardless of all consequences, of all personal loss, of all inconvenience. They may tell us if they like, that that is treason. It is not for men who have such stakes as we have at issue to trouble about the cost. We are prepared to take the consequences."

Did the philosophy of the Easter uprising of 1916 go farther?

The United States Senate, the supreme treaty-making power of the American Government, while the Peace Conference was in session at Paris, passed a resolution, by a vote of 60 to 1, requesting the conference to listen to the claims of Home Rule Ireland, which asserted its right to go to the Peace Conference under President Wilson's self-determination principle. The United States Senate did not send an ultimatum or indicate what the Peace Conference should do with respect to Ireland; it merely suggested, which the covenant of the League of Nations as finally drawn reserved to any nation in the League, that this question be considered. It was then that Sir Edward Carson proceeded to set right the United States Senate. He termed its action "*unparalleled effrontery*." He further said: "The fact that the resolution was passed for political purposes, in order to weaken the position of President Wilson, and as a maneuver in the game of political parties in America, is a demonstration of the uses to which the policy of the League of Nations may be diverted, and it makes one think seriously, as to whether international difficulties may not be increased rather than diminished if, at the outset of this new international venture, an *act of indecency of such a character* is to pass without protest." Coincidentally with this expression of his opinion of the country that helped to do a pretty fair job at Chateau Thierry and in the Argonne, he threatened to again put the Ulster rebel army in the field (in 1919!) to defeat Home Rule, defying the entire British government.

Lest American people generally should erroneously get the impression that Sir Edward speaks the true sentiments of all the

English people in England towards the United States, we quote from the *London Times*, as follows: "We find little trace of any sense of international responsibility in his (Carson's) speech of Saturday. When Sir Edward Carson tells America to mind her own business, he courts retorts that wishes of fifteen million Irish-Americans in the United States are part of her business, that their doings form part of her own questions at home, and that had it not been for British mismanagement of Ireland in the past, there might today be fewer Irish-American citizens animated by ill-will toward this country. As for Sir Edward Carson's threats of armed rebellion, we regard them as having perilous likeness to threats of direct action by British imitations of Russian Bolsheviks."

The *Daily Mail* asks: "Is there to be one law for Mr. Smillie (chief of the coal miners) and another for Sir Edward Carson? In March, Mr. Bonar Law solemnly declared that against direct action by miners and transport men, the government would use all the resources of the State, without the smallest hesitation. Saturday, at Belfast, Sir Edward Carson threatened to call Ulster to arms again if the government should attempt any settlement in Ireland, which had not been previously stamped with his approval. What is the government's answer this time?"

CHAPTER VIII

FISH AND FOWL

THE Easter, 1916, Insurrection was founded on the exact philosophy set forth by the leaders of the Ulster rebellion of 1912-1914—the moral right to rebel against English laws. The Republican leaders of the South saw rebellion preached with impunity, saw not only the landing of German rifles but the drilling of the Carson army, listened to their leaders solemnly avow that they would strike hands with Emperor William of Germany before they would submit to the carrying out of the Parliamentary act providing for a qualified form of Home Rule.

The difference between the speeches of Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Frederick E. Smith, and Chancellor Campbell on the one hand, and the speeches of De Valera, Connolly, Pearse and Griffith on the other, was that one defiance was aimed at England for attempting to let in a little liberty, while the other was aimed at England for not letting in complete liberty.

The Ulster Provisional Government was declared established at Belfast on September 24, 1913. Sir Edward Carson was given supreme command. Sir James Campbell was legal assessor. Other members of the "central authority" were Charles Bates, K. C.; F. Brunskill, K. C.; James Chambers, K. C., M. P.; G. Featherston, K. C., M. P.; John Gordon, K. C., M. P.; William Moore, K. C., M. P., and D. M. Wilson, K. C. Sir John Lonsdale, M. P., was a member.

Of these, Campbell, Gordon and Moore were afterwards made judges of the High Court, and Campbell Lord Chancellor of Ireland, by the English government. Sir Edward Carson was taken into the Cabinet, was made Attorney General, and subsequently Secretary to the Admiralty. Chambers was made solicitor-general for Ireland, and Sir John Lonsdale was made a peer.

The Irish Provisional Government was declared established in Dublin, on April 24, 1916. Thomas J. Clarke was President, and James Connolly was Commandant of the Dublin District. Thomas McDonagh, P. H. Pearse, Sean MacDermott, Edmund Kent, and Joseph Plunkett were amongst other prominent members.

All the Provisional Governors were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death. They were shot at Richmond Barracks, Dublin, between the 3rd and 13th of May, 1916. Sir James Campbell,

K. C., M. P., one of the Ulster rebels, had then become Attorney-General.

The "Who's Who" of the more prominent Ulster Rebel leaders follows: Sir Edward Carson (President of the Ulster Provisional Government)—Attorney-General for England, May, 1915; First Lord of the Admiralty, December, 1916; Member of the War Cabinet, July, 1917.

Mr. Bonar Law (Leader of the Die-Hards)—Secretary for the Colonies May, 1915; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Leader of the House of Commons, and Member of the War Cabinet, December, 1916.

Sir F. E. Smith (Galloper to General Richardson, Commander-in-Chief of the Ulster Army)—Solicitor-General for England, May, 1915; Attorney-General, 1916.

Sir J. H. Campbell (Legal Assessor to the Ulster Provisional Government)—Attorney-General for Ireland, April, 1916; Lord Chief Justice for Ireland, December, 1916; Lord Chancellor of Ireland, June, 1918.

Sir James Craig (Chief of Staff of Ulster Army)—Treasurer of His Majesty's Household, December, 1916.

Mr. John Gordon, M. P.—Attorney General for Ireland, May, 1915; Judge of the High Court of Justice, July, 1916.

Mr. William Moore, M. P. (Member of Ulster Provisional Government)—Judge of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, 1918.

Mr. Walter Long, M. P.—President of the Local Government Board, 1915; Secretary of State for the Colonies, December, 1916; Irish adviser to the War Cabinet, 1918.

CHAPTER IX

THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE

WHEN I talk with our American Protestants not conversant with Irish history they are somewhat amazed to learn that in the last one hundred and twenty years of Irish turmoil nearly all the outstanding rebels against English rule have been Protestants. O'Connell and Redmond, and recently Dillon and De Valera, were the conspicuous Catholic leaders of the century.

An amusing incident was reported to me in Illinois. A young Irish father had brought his son to the Catholic church in a rural community for baptism. When it came time to divulge the boy's saint's name, the proud father announced: "Robert Emmet!"

Emmet, held in the deepest veneration by all Catholics of Ireland, was a Protestant.

Henry Grattan, before him and after him, and a patriot whose eloquence struck as deeply into the Irish heart as that of any human being in Ireland's history, if not more so, was a Protestant.

The stormy Wolf Tone, who came to America and then went to France, pleading for arms and soldiers as well as a navy, was a Protestant.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, associated with Tone in the memorable '98 rebellion, was a Protestant. It was men of this type who led the Ulster Protestants as well as Dublin Catholics against England at that time, and paid for it with their lives.

An aged and very devout Catholic woman of Dublin, during the conscription and deportation excitement of 1918, said to me:

"Lord Edward was the true type of the Irishman who loves Ireland. He had wealth and position and honors and everything to live for, had he but served the king. He flung all these aside for Ireland and went bravely to his death. He was a dashing figure, a magnetic soul, and Ireland always will revere his memory second to none."

William Smith O'Brien, a name that ranks among Irish patriots, was a Protestant. He was sentenced to be hung or beheaded in the Tower of London for "treason to the king." And Catholic Ireland erected a monument to his memory which now stands on Dublin's main thoroughfare.

Sir Isaac Butt, founder of the Home Rule party, was a Protestant, and Catholic Irishmen today pronounce the name reverently.

John Mitchel, grandfather of the late Mayor John Puroy

Mitchel of New York city, and the "fiery Gael" in the '48 insurrection, was a Protestant. No man has more scathingly indicted English rule than he. He said that were it possible he would clutch the fires of hell in his hand and fling them in the face of England. He was deported to Australia.

Charles Stewart Parnell, subjected to the most diabolical of government plotting, even the use of a woman, to destroy his good name, was a Protestant. And there stands at the upper end of O'Connell street today one of the noblest effigies in the world. St. Gaudens, who fashioned the Lincoln statue in Chicago's public park by that name, moulded this figure of Parnell. The very bronze seems to speak. The writer was an eye-witness of the veneration held for Parnell to the present day in the hearts of the Catholics of the island. During the conscription and deportation excitement the old flower women of O'Connell street, on coming from St. Patrick's pro-cathedral, on leaving their Catholic altars, would proceed to the Parnell monument and there lay their fresh Irish roses and the sprigs of purple heather on the plinth. There was not a day through the three long, turbulent months, from April to July, that a green sprig of some sort was not entwined in the bronze hands by humble Catholic souls of the capital.

Surely, we are not going to be ungenerous enough in this enlightened day to take Patrick Henry and General Mulligan and General Sheridan out of our American history and out of our American hearts because they carried a crucifix! Nor are we going to be that ungallant as to turn up our noses at the mention of the name of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied armies—General Ferdinand Foch—because he is a Catholic, and a good one! A careful study of Irish history will convince the most bigoted of our American Protestants that Irish aspirations for freedom at this hour are in no way prompted by Catholic intolerance or intrigue, or an even remote desire to bring Ireland under the rule of Rome. The charge is no more to be entertained than the suggestion that the Irishmen from Ireland who fought with George Washington were actuated by narrow religious motives. In Washington's army Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics, driven from their native heath by English tyranny, were fighting side by side to push back from the western hemisphere the rule of a nation by a nation. They believed they were fighting for freedom of conscience as well as civil liberty and the rights of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience.

There may be two sides to the question as to whether independence or Dominion Home Rule is preferable for Ireland's



THE LATE JOHN REDMOND

good; but it is not just or defensible that Irish claims should be prejudiced by religious bigotry in 1919.

Protestants in America, and in all countries for that matter, who are not familiar with Irish history, have been led to believe that the controlling motive back of the self-government forces in Ireland, for many generations, had its root in Rome—that it was more a Papal movement to control Ireland in the interests of the Catholic Church than it was a truly patriotic motive. Protestants generally, too, in this country, have the impression that the Protestants in Ireland have not permitted their church to become identified with their resistance to Home Rule.

Of course, to one impartially informed, and fully informed of the present situation in Ireland, the church issue in the South is merely collateral, at the most, whatever it has been in the past. Sinn Fein, both in spirit and in its published manifestoes, does not recognize religious distinction of any kind. It may be stated without fear of intelligent contradiction that Sinn Fein is perhaps the first genuinely democratic movement in Ireland modeled upon the constitution of the United States, with particular respect to religious and civil liberty. It is not too much to say that, at this time (July, 1919) the principal church activities solely as church activities involved in the Irish trouble are in the Protestant Church of the island.

It is true that a great majority of the Sinn Feiners are Catholics and it is also true, however it may be disputed, we firmly believe, that their church affiliation is a subsidiary matter. Their first concern is self-government, and in that movement today the Protestant Ulsterman, who stands for Ireland's independence, is welcome even with more eclat than his Catholic fellow-citizen, and is honored for both his stand for freedom and his preservation of his church ideals.

It is quite true, also, that the Church, North and South, has got a lot of things to answer for, but today the most insistent church party that builds its political activity on its religious creed is our Protestant Church in the North.

The Reverend S. R. Anderson at Arvinstown, May 10, 1912, was reported as begging his flock, the anti-Home-Rulers, "to put their trust in God, and be ready to shed their blood and risk their lives on behalf of the great privileges they now enjoy."

The Reverend Doctor McKean, ex-moderator of the general assembly, preaching at a special service in the Ulster Hall, on September 28, 1912, in the presence of Sir Edward Carson and the members of the Ulster Provisional Government, was reported as follows: "They were standing that day in the face of a great

religious and political issue which might involve the destruction of their liberties, and even the peace of their country. They knew there were many people, and even some preachers of the Gospel, who thought it a degradation of the Christian pulpit to deal with such questions, even on such a special occasion as Ulster Day. They refused to be influenced by the opinion or silenced by the criticisms of such men. They claimed the right to lay the divine measuring line on every attempted form of legislation bearing on the character, the freedom, and the well-being of the people. It would be an evil day for this country, when the politics of it were of such a quality that religious people could not touch them. They were now called upon to defend more than their faith. They told their fellow-countrymen that so long as they persisted in pressing that preposterous policy, they would meet them with the old battle-cry of the Maiden City. It was a policy to which they could never submit, and they meant to do everything that Christian men could to make it impossible."

The Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor, in Belfast Cathedral, September 28, 1912, said: "When we see the men of Ulster filled with that noble spirit of self-sacrifice in behalf of liberty which fired their ancestors, displaying more than any other men today their patriotic devotion which has made Britain what she is, we cannot hold aloof. The Covenant is a pledge to stand by one another in our resolve to save our country at all costs. It means that we are ready to make any sacrifice to avert the greatest of calamities. It rests upon the principle that when life and liberty are threatened, men are bound to risk all. In essence, it simply states what is true at all places and times—that men, true men, must be prepared to hold together in defense of their altars and their hearths, and to face all dangers."

Doctor Chadwick, Protestant Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, in Glendermot parish church, after a parade of Ulster Volunteers, September, 1912, said: "No man can really suppose that the Christian religion forbade any violence under any conceivable circumstances whatever. There were causes which no Christian was at liberty to fail to defend, even to the uttermost, and there was a righteous indignation—righteous indignation at wrong, and injustice, and encroachment upon liberty. To be tame, to be submissive always, when great things were at stake—that was not the Christian temper."

Coincidentally with the Maynouth conference of 1918, at which the Catholic hierarchy decided to oppose conscription, Lloyd George, Premier of Great Britain, formally protested against the Catholic Church interesting itself in Irish politics. There is,

however, no official record of the British government showing a similar rebuke was offered the Protestant Church in the North for its part in the Ulster rebellion. We shall have occasion farther on in this chronicle to go into the "No Popery" issue more fully.

Of this church activity in the North against Home Rule (1912-1914), which had been given the more alliterative designation of "Rome Rule" by the Covenanters, Mrs. Green records:

"From time to time public meetings were held to announce the general decisions of the new Ulster government, while the administration was skilfully carried out in camera. Fiery denunciations of the king and Parliament of England, and of all the rest of Ireland, along with the Pope, were addressed to the public. The immense funds at the disposal of the governing body made it easy to arrange exhilarating festivals and gatherings for the encouragement of the people. The state had been cemented by a sworn Covenant, and the attendant religious ceremonies emphasized the doctrine of a peculiar people, chosen by a special Deity. 'Oh, God,' ran the prayer of one of the greatest Presbyterian assemblies in a chief center of Covenanters, who had met on the great day of signing to consecrate their work, 'Oh, God, remember that Thou are not a God like other gods.' The naturally militant and aggressive character of a 'chosen people' was emphasized by a multitude of sermons in which, so far as we can judge from those printed in the papers, the texts were invariably taken from the warlike incitements of Old Testament warriors and prophets, while only two were adopted by the leading preachers from the New Testament of the Christian faith: 'I am not come to send peace but a sword'; 'He that hath no sword, let him sell his cloak and buy one.' In such a temper, the *London Times* saw a spiritual hope. 'The Covenant,' it wrote on May 3, 1913, 'was a mystical affirmation. . . . Ulster seemed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Deity.' "

There can be no doubt that religious toleration has a greater number, proportionately, of sincere supporters in the South than in Ulster. A concrete demonstration of this was given in the Irish convention of 1917-18 when the Nationalists, comprising the leading Catholic minds of the island, stood solidly for a section in the new constitution that would make sure religious liberty for their Protestant brothers in the North. Catholic Ireland is no longer vengeful. It would not, if it could, at least Sinn Fein would not, restrict the free play of conscience, even for those whose forbears fastened upon Catholic Ireland the penal and disability laws—the most degrading and inhuman in history.

The Sinn Fein flag itself indicates the freedom of conscience which underlies the new movement and which must be the foundation of any enduring republic—religious as well as political liberty. The three colors stand for a united Ireland—the gold for the Protestants of Ulster, the green for St. Patrick's Ireland and the national aspiration of the generations, and the white for the peace that shall come between them.

The Sinn Fein flag is a democratic ensign.

St. John G. Ervine in his book, *Sir Edward Carson And The Ulster Movement*, states the whole Ulster case in about two hundred words. He says: "The Ulsterman is opposed to Home Rule for two reasons. He dislikes the Roman Catholic church, and is of the opinion that Home Rule, as the late Duke of Abercorn phrased it, means Rome Rule. His second ground of opposition to Home Rule lies in his contempt for the business capacity of the average Nationalist: he fears that they will so misrule Ireland that the cost of government will increase inordinately and that he and his kinsmen will find the incidence of taxation so arranged by the Catholic majority that Ulster will have to bear the heaviest part of it. I am not now concerned with the truth or falsity of these beliefs. I merely state that they are held, and sincerely held, by the mass of the Ulster Protestants. The fear of Catholicism is, of course, the stronger of the two. I have met Belfastmen who have said to me that they would become Home Rulers were it not for the Catholic church. These two objections to Home Rule are the beginning and the end of the Ulster Protestant opposition to Irish autonomy."

CHAPTER X

BACHELOR'S WALK

WE have seen how the Protestant rebels of Ulster had successfully defied both king and Parliament in opposition to Home Rule; how the leaders, backed by the church, had declared even that they preferred the rule of the German Kaiser to Home Rule; how they had gone about, raising and drilling and equipping an army of several hundred thousand; how they had mocked at the English government and on the surface at least had dared the king and his whole entourage to come forth and try the issues at arms; how, after laying down the principle that Irishmen in Ireland had a moral right to armed rebellion whenever a law of the Imperial Parliament was distasteful to them, finally the foremost spokesmen of the rebellion had made their bluff good and had not only been forgiven for their "high treason" but had been taken into the British Cabinet and subsequently became the trusted agents of the British government itself.

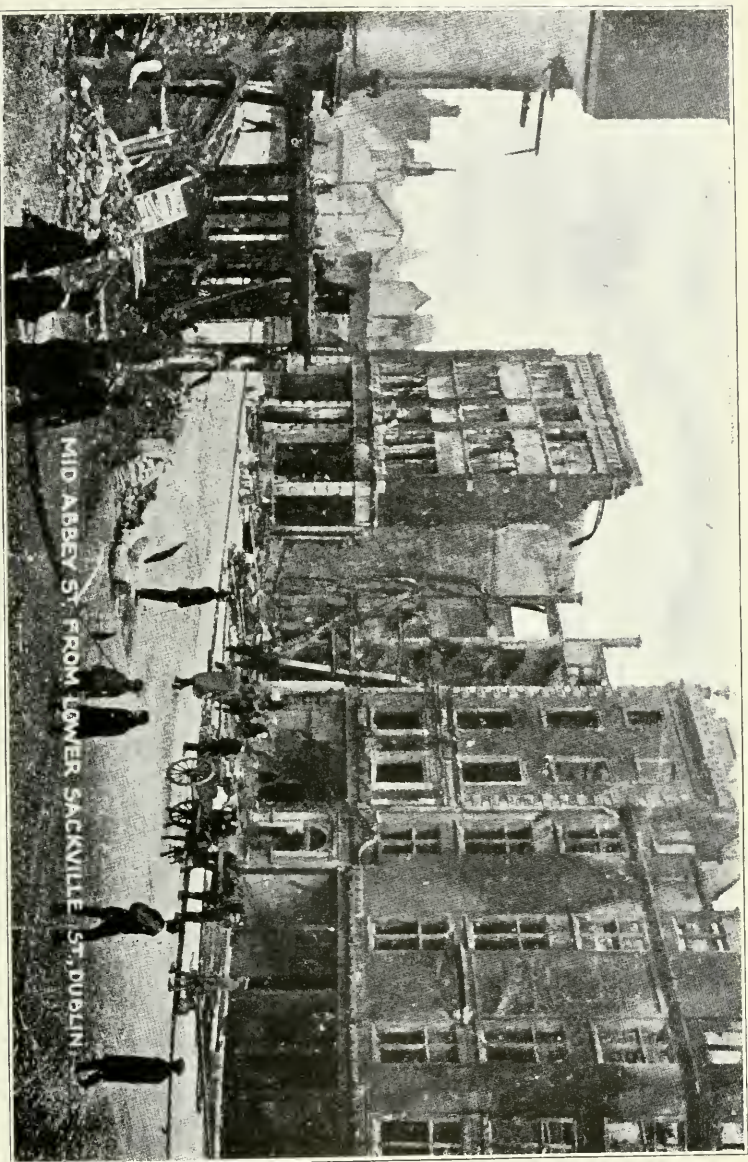
The episodes in the early stages of the Ulster rebellion were watched with the keenest interest by the Nationalists (and by Nationalists we mean not only the Redmond Parliamentary party but that group of young Irishmen who were beginning to feel the first thrill of their inherited patriotism).

To the leaders in the Home Rule movement who were observing the fight of seven hundred years culminating in victory, Ulster's position was analogous to that of the Southern commonwealths in the United States in 1861—that Ireland could not exist half Home Rule and half English rule, even as the United States, as Lincoln said, could not exist half slave and half free. Civil war seemed imminent, unless Nationalist Ireland was ready to surrender to the small minority in the Northeast. Surrender was out of the question. There was nothing to do but fight. Accordingly, there sprang up in the latter part of 1913 a small movement which was to become in Irish history likely the greatest of all. This was the organization to be known as the Irish Volunteers, and later the Sinn Féin. We shall get better acquainted with them in Easter Week.

There was but a mere handful at the outset, but this handful saw clearly that there was little hope in the Redmond party, particularly since the British government had not only connived apparently at the landing of German arms in Ulster, but was not

moved to treat seriously the parliamentary act which was to establish Home Rule. And in understanding the subsequent events, we may here note what is not generally understood that the young movement or Irish Volunteers at no time condemned the Ulster rebels for arming themselves. They did not question the right in itself. They offered no protest to the British government on this score, for, although the time might come when they would be forced to settle their differences in civil war, Ulster in this respect was carrying out what the real Irishmen had always contended, namely, the right to arm themselves in defense of what they conceived to be their rights. But when it became apparent to them that the government was being bluffed by the Ulster rebels, the Irish Volunteers quickly sprang into life, possibly thrilled with the anticipation that they too might be able to bluff the British government to the extent at least that England could be driven out of Ireland. The wishy-washy attitude of the Redmondites (whose fight up to this time for Home Rule should always be held in high reverence by the true friends of Irish autonomy) did not strike the real chord in the Irish heart, although they did hold with the Volunteers that the time had come to "maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland," since Ulster had set out "to make the display of military force and the menace of armed violence the determining factor in the future relations between this country and Great Britain." It was generally accepted in the South and West that it was up to Irishmen who had the historic Irish aspirations at heart to act accordingly.

And they declared that, if Irishmen "failed to take such measures as will effectually reject this policy, we become politically the worst degraded population in Europe." Two men in Dublin who hitherto had been unknown in Irish politics suddenly sprang into prominence. They were Mr. John MacNeill, professor of old Irish history at the National University (and still is as this is written), and Mr. Laurence Kettle, a Dublin solicitor, and brother of the late Lieutenant T. J. Kettle, a former member of the Irish party in the House of Commons. They were the promoters of the inaugural meeting of the Volunteers in Dublin. They were subsequently joined by Colonel Moore, who at once put his military experience at the disposal of the organization. He was a brother of George Moore, the novelist, and had served in the South African war. He was not, however, at the time classed as a revolutionist. Colonel Moore subsequently set down his impressions of the first meeting he attended. These impressions are worthy of reproduction here as a historical note. He said: "On



BRITISH SHELLS AND FIRE DID THIS

Photos of Ruins, by Eason & Co., Dublin.

DUBLIN RESEMBLED A SHOT-TORN CITY IN FLANDERS AT END OF EASTER WEEK.
THE DAMAGE BEING PUT AT \$15,000,000. OFFICIAL REPORTS SHOWED 125 POLICE
AND MILITARY KILLED AND 405 WOUNDED AND 180 CIVILIANS KILLED AND MORE

my first entrance I found about twenty-five members present; nearly all of them were young men, some merely boys of twenty; some seemingly less. None of them knew anything of military affairs, but they had hired halls for drilling and obtained the free service of excellent men to instruct them. Except Mr. John MacNeill and Mr. Pearse and Mr. MacDonagh, I had never seen or heard of any of them before, and it took me two or three days to size them up and separate the groups. There were about two extremists, and four or five boys under their domination; these latter men were mild and quiet and by no means unreasonable. Five or six Sinn Feiners were in a separate group; they might be described as extreme Home Rulers. They did not approve of the methods of the Parliamentary party (Redmond) but were not revolutionists. There were a few, like MacNeill, Pearse, MacDonagh, Plunkett, and O'Rahilly, who belonged to no special political party; they were idealists. The remainder of the committee were moderate men, inclined to follow the Parliamentary party. It will be interesting to note how some of the Sinn Fein party and some of the idealists gradually became extremists and merged with the Fenians."

As the Volunteer movement attracted new members, Mr. Redmond and the Parliamentary party leaders evinced some hostility. The eye-witness commentators of this period set it down in part as jealousy, as a movement possibly calculated to further cause schisms in the South and West. An act of the British government, however, at this time, played into the hands of the Volunteers. That was the proclamation prohibiting the importation of arms in Ireland, in December, 1913. The Covenanters, under Mr. Carson, as we have seen, were well organized at this time, even before the importation of the German rifles; in fact, had been equipping themselves for a full year. The young Volunteers were quick to make capital of this proclamation, and to spread the suspicion that the British government was not dealing straightforwardly with the Irish question since it had allowed Sir Edward Carson and his anti-Home Rule faction a whole year in which to prepare before announcing the arms embargo.

The leaders of the Volunteers also, emulating Sir Edward Carson, displayed utter indifference to the arms embargo proclamation and began drilling all over the south of Ireland, getting in what few arms they could, which, indeed, were like the proverbial hen's teeth, few and far between. However, Mr. Redmond and his associates were forced to treat the Volunteers as a serious movement, and they set about to take them in. This was finally accomplished, so far as the personnel of the committee was con-

cerned, "Mr. John MacNeill and his friends accepting Mr. Redmond's ultimatum with what grace they could," on the representation that the Nationalists would uphold the Volunteers' aims in a thorough defense of Home Rule. The coalition was not to be long-lived.

Meantime, the Covenanters up North, under Carson's leadership, snapped their fingers not only at the Imperial Parliament's seeming attitude toward Home Rule, but the Imperial Parliament's edict against the importation of arms. Mr. Carson announced that they could pass all the laws they wanted to pass at Westminster, he would still get arms, as he needed them, and he did. At the same time, they made an *opera bouffet* of the government's ostensible effort to enforce its decree, a spectacle which convinced many astute observers that the government was lending itself to Ulster aims while pretending to be outraged. The Curragh mutiny, when the government troops indicated they would not coerce Ulster, and the cruise of the two gunboats in Belfast Lough, *a la Pinafore*, when the crew of the gunboats received invitations to tea "from the very culprits whom they had come to overawe," made a further impression in the South. The South was being aroused by the "tricks and manoeuvres" of the "wily old birds" of the North, and advanced from the laughter to the serious stage in their organization for defense.

That the British government did not intend to enforce Home Rule if the act should be placed on the statute books was the conclusion arrived at by the far-seeing minds in the Volunteer movement. They came to the conclusion that they would have to enforce self-government themselves, or see it fall by what they termed another display of British duplicity, of British chicanery, of British cant and British hypocrisy. It was up to the Volunteers to arm themselves as quickly as possible to meet Carson if not the government. So in June, 1914, the Volunteers issued their manifesto requesting the government to withdraw immediately the proclamation prohibiting the importation of arms in Ireland. They based this request on the admitted facts, namely, that they were supporting national autonomy which the government seemed to be supporting. Mr. John MacNeill and Mr. L. J. Kettle prepared the manifesto which concluded as follows: "The right of a free people to carry arms in defense of their freedom is an elementary part of political liberty. The denial of that right is a denial of political liberty and consistent only with a despotic form of government." The government took no notice of this, and the Volunteers, supported by a considerable element of the Nationalist party, took matters in their own hands.

Their agents managed to assemble a few ancient fowling-pieces, gathered, it was said, in Spain, Italy, and England. There was at least one machine gun. This machine gun was landed in Ireland in a coffin, and formed the strangely-garbed corpse in an imposing funeral cortege and a subsequent "wake" at the A. O. H. hall in Dublin, at which many glowing compliments were paid the deceased.

The Volunteers desired to match the magnitude of the Carson defiance, and for this purpose they also chartered a large yacht, on which they loaded their rifles (not in Germany) and which bravely sailed into Howth harbor, early in the forenoon of July 26, 1914. This date must be considered large by the future historians seeking to discover from what sources, apparently small in themselves, the subsequent upheaval came. Future Irish records must, perforce, be somewhat cluttered with the reiterated thrill—"Remember July twenty-six!" Sir Roger Casement in Germany (before the United States entered the war) was unable to attract Irish prisoners of war until he said to them: "Remember Bachelor's Walk."

Upwards of one thousand Volunteers were at the pier to formally welcome the boat and take charge of its cargo. They at once proceeded to unload the rifles. One of the curses of Ireland has been the informer. There seems to have been one such here, for Dublin Castle, the seat of British government in Ireland, soon was apprised of what was going on. The Volunteers, meantime, bearing their rifles, had started for their homes.

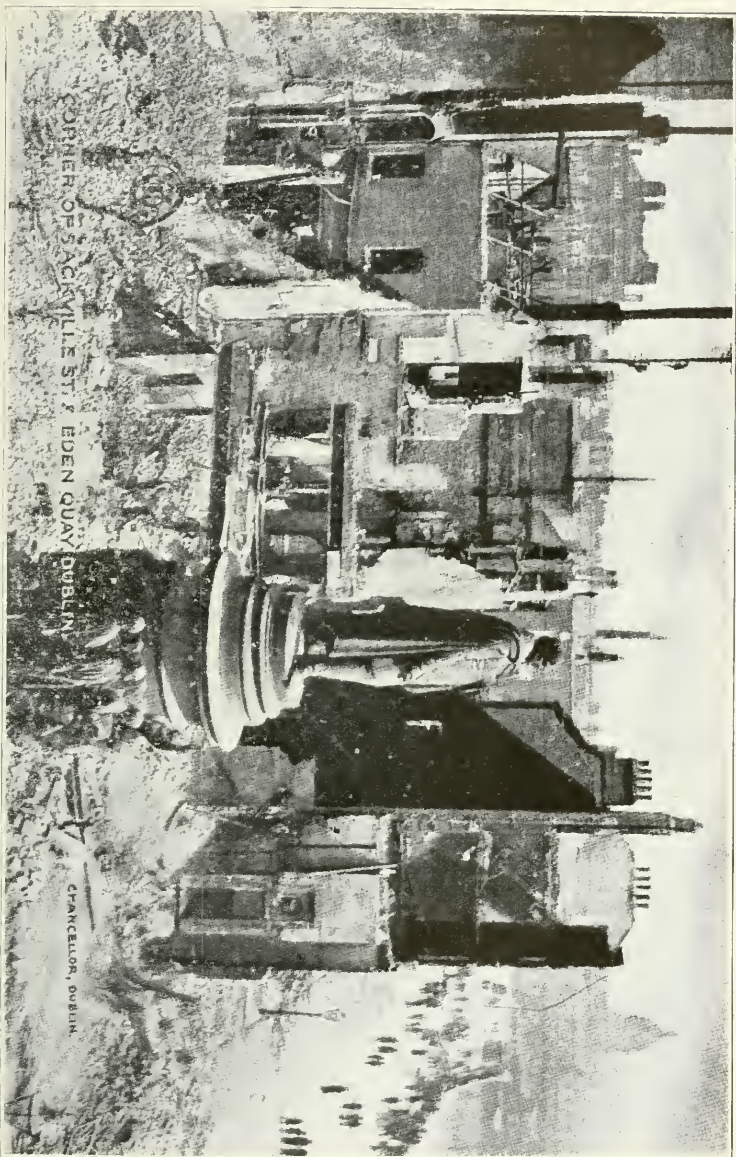
At Marino Crescent, what was their surprise to learn that the government, which had permitted Carson to land his German rifles from the *Fanny*, had sent British soldiers and the Metropolitan police of Dublin to deny them the same right, and they who were to defend Home Rule, the national autonomy! There were about 200 English soldiers in the intercepting party. They ordered the Volunteers to give up their arms. The Volunteers refused. In the brief conflict which followed, a lance corporal of the Scottish Borderers was wounded. A few of the Volunteers suffered broken heads from the blows of clubbed rifles. The Volunteers, without relinquishing their guns, took to the fields and made their way into the city.

The soldiers of the king began their return march to Dublin. It was about 6:30 o'clock in the evening when they reached what is known as Bachelor's Walk. A crowd of Irish freedom sympathizers, unarmed, had gathered here. The crowd displayed a hostile attitude, whereupon the king's soldiers lowered their rifles

and fired, killing three men and injuring a large number. Women and children were among the wounded.

- It is difficult to approximate the effect of this act on Irish history. The Ulster gun-runners had gone unpunished. The Volunteers had been shot down like dogs in the street. England's charged duplicity was no longer a moot question in the South. Though the loss of life was small, the horror felt in the South was akin to the horror Mr. Russell suggested—the horror of a child when it looks upon a monster which it believes has committed some terrible sin like the sin against the Holy Ghost!

Bachelor's Walk was Ireland's Boston Massacre. The victims were given a popular funeral, while the Scottish Borderers were discreetly kept in their barracks. Men's passions, though still and deep, were such on that day that the Borderers, even fully armed, might have been torn limb from limb had they "profaned" the cortege with their presence.



CORNER OF SACKVILLE ST. & EDEN QUAY DUBLIN.

CANCELLOR, DUBLIN.

THE LIBERATOR'S STATUE STILL STANDS

SHELL FIRE FROM THE GUNBOATS IN THE LIFEEY AND THE GREAT FIRE WHICH FOLLOWED DID TERRIFIC DAMAGE HERE, BUT FOLEY'S BRONZE OF DANIEL

CHAPTER XI

THE UNCONQUERABLE THING

MEN'S faces became hard. They did not speak as they passed in village street or country road. But their eyes met. They went about with distended nostrils.

Here was something too enormous for language.

Added to the horror of it was a new and deeper passion of loathing for everything British. You could not have given such men as these a place in the English Cabinet. The proffer would have strangled them; for, endeavoring to express themselves, even with restraint, their arteries would have burst.

The water of hate was seeping nearer and nearer to the molten lava beneath. A fault of the earth was impending. The volcano was to labor and cover Dublin with its ashes.

Cavour, sometimes styled the maker of modern Italy, has observed that the law of chemistry is also the law of politics—the greater the compression of a solution the more destructive the explosion; the heavier the oppression laid upon a people the more terrible the eruption.

In Belfast, the Ulster rebels advertised their defiance, made a gala festival of it, with processions and pennants and dazzling uniforms and a bedlam of resounding oratory.

In Dublin, they went unostentatiously through side streets and narrow alleys, in the old part of town near Christ Church and by the noisome walls of the Liffey, by the Custom House, and up Westmoreland Row, loitering at Liberty Hall, or making grimaces at "King Billy" on his leaden horse, planning.

One exhibited the adornments of a pageant; the other wore the vestments of martyrs. One threatened; the other thrust. One invested a wind-mill; the other assaulted an empire. One made a bargain; the other made a grave. One lived to fight another day; the other fought and died. One was invited to Whitehall; the other was imbedded in quicklime. One bluffed; the other performed. One got its price; the other got immortality.

Lambertie

CHAPTER XII

TRYING TO BE ENGLAND'S FRIEND

BACHELOR'S WALK fell on July 26. On August 4, just nine days later, the terrible thunderbolts of the world conflict came from a clear sky.

In the first thrill virtually all Erin sprang to the colors. There ensued a period of several days in which the Home Rule controversy was set to one side pending Mr. Redmond's negotiations with the government in London. Mr. Redmond, meantime, arising in the House of Commons, made his famous speech in which he "assured Englishmen of the unconditional loyalty of his countrymen during the European crisis." This declaration thrilled all England, and it was followed by energetic recruiting in the South and West of Ireland. Ireland, so recently torn with factional strife, seemed to have come to the defense of the British Empire almost unanimously. It was this spectacle that prompted Sir Edward Grey to make his now celebrated statement that Ireland was the "one bright spot."

It would not be accurate, however, to say that Ireland was a unit for the war. In some Sinn Fein and labor circles there was still considerable skepticism. They were yet thinking of a free Ireland and not a triumphant Britain. Sean MacDermada, in his revolutionary pamphlet, *Irish Freedom*, was outspokenly opposed to Great Britain's war stand. Presently, however, the uncertainty over the disposition of the Home Rule bill was dispelled. Redmond had persuaded the government to place the measure on the statute book, but agreed that it should be held up for the period of the war. Immediately Sir Edward Carson and his followers in Ulster showed their teeth again to Downing Street. They would have none of the Home Rule bill as it stood, and not until after the Ulster leaders apparently were given to understand that an amending measure would be considered, did Ulster finally get into the war whole-heartedly. This amending measure, as it was understood back in Ireland, was a partition scheme, by which the Ulster counties in the final draft of the bill were to be set off to one side as a part of the Imperial Government.

Redmond could have refused the government's offer for a suspension of the act and plunged Ireland into civil war. Instead, he took the government at its word, delivered the aspirations of

Ireland into the government's keeping, and went forth to summon all his people to the business of the world war.

Colonel Moore, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, testified as to the unanimity with which the National Volunteers and the Irish Volunteers joined hands in this recruiting movement, particularly in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught. There was hardly a discordant note, and Colonel Moore adds: "We had already far surpassed the Ulster Volunteers in number, and now also we were ahead of them in the rank and position of our officers. We had succeeded in welding together all parties in at least three out of the four provinces, and we had achieved this result without money or patronage, but merely by the patriotism of our people, the moderation of our ends, and the wisdom of our actions."

The reaction from Mr. Redmond's "deal" with the government by which the Home Rule act was suspended, manifested itself late in September. The Irish Volunteer leaders began to fear that the suspension of the act meant its indefinite suspension even after the war, and that the long struggle of the centuries for self-government was again to be frustrated by some devious course, the exact way of which they were in darkness. The Irish Volunteers, who had been co-operating with the National Volunteers or Redmondites up to this time, finally issued a statement to the public on September 25, 1914. This was signed by Mr. MacNeill, The O'Raihilly, Thomas MacDonagh, Joseph Plunkett, P. H. Pearse, Bulmer Hobson, Eamon-Ceannt, Sean MacDermada and Melowes. In this they said: "It is clear that this proposal to throw the country into turmoil and to destroy the chances of a Home Rule measure in the near future must have been forced upon Mr. Redmond. Already, ignoring the Irish Volunteers as a factor in the National position, he had consented to a dismemberment of Ireland, which could be made permanent by the same agencies that forced him to accept it as temporary. He was now prepared to risk another disruption and the wreck of the cause entrusted to him."

This class of Irish leaders, who were for Irish freedom before anything else in the world, began to lose interest in the world war in so far as England was concerned. They had rushed to the colors in August with the first thought that Ireland's freedom was to be given them through the Home Rule bill. This thought had now given way to the almost certainty that nothing of the sort was in sight.

Colonel Moore testified: "When at last the Home Rule bill was signed, the enthusiasm was gone, and the fact that it was not

to be put into force until after the war, with the threat of an undefined amending bill, left the uncertainty as great as ever. However, *there was a time after the outbreak of the war when Home Rule Ireland could have been made doubtless the friend of England forever.*"

It was when the first systematic scheme of recruiting was proposed to the War Office. This scheme contemplated the removal of the British troops from Ireland immediately and the bringing of both the Ulster Volunteers and the Nationalists, as well as the Irish Volunteers, into a scheme of military training. It was proposed that 20,000 of the Volunteers be placed in the barracks at a time, and these, after two months' training, be sent to the finishing camps and their places taken by a new levy of 20,000 Volunteers. Mr. Redmond's spokesman agreed to this, as did Mr. John MacNeill. MacNeill, as a matter of fact, went to the Royal Hospital to further discuss the proposal. It was then that the late Lord Kitchener made what we may be justified in terming his first blunder in Ireland. He refused to consider the proposal.

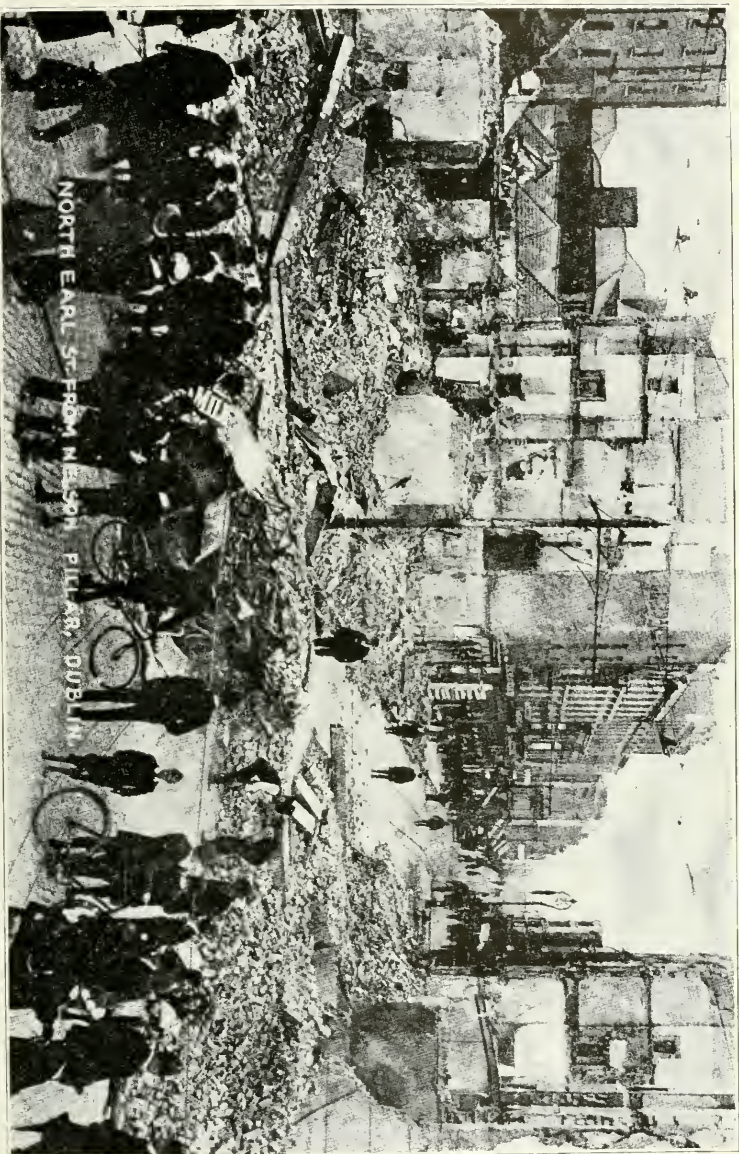
Colonel Moore, testifying before the Rebellion Commission after Easter Week, said: "I want to lay stress on the fact that the leaders of the Irish Volunteers, and among them participators in the late rebellion (Easter Week), *were at that time willing to join in the defense of the Empire but were refused by the government.*"

Even the Unionist leaders were disappointed in Kitchener's refusal to consider this plan of putting all of Ireland into the war.

Sir Morgan O'Connell, a staunch Unionist, of Kerry, testifying before the Commission, said: "When the war started, the vast majority of Irishmen were in sympathy with England."

The psychologic effect of Kitchener's attitude was to arouse in the hearts of the Irish Volunteers the thought that Ireland's aspiration for freedom were being deliberately frowned upon. The Irish Volunteers were ready to fight for England, but they wanted to do the fighting as the soldiers of an Irish nation. They accordingly reverted to their centuries-old shibboleth that Ireland is a nation, and with this thought as the background, the Irish Volunteers had laid down the principle that "Ireland could not with honor or safety take part in foreign quarrels other than through the free action of a national government of her own."

They reaffirmed their demand for the Home Rule act without amendment and "repudiated any undertaking, by whomsoever given, to consent to the legislative dismemberment of the country." Several of the signatories to this declaration took part in the



WHERE A BARRICADE HAD BEEN

BEFORE THE FIRE THE INSURRECTIONISTS HAD USED AN ABANDONED TRAM CAR
AT THIS CORNER FROM WHICH THEY BARRED THE WAY INTO SACKVILLE STREET.

Easter insurrection. Even Mr. John Dillon, who was not in sympathy with the Irish Volunteers who afterward became merged in the Sinn Fein movement, inveighed against the threatened amending act, which implied partition. In a speech at Belfast, several weeks after the war started, he said: "We will never consent to divide this island or this nation."

On the other hand, Ulster was as determined to defeat any kind of Home Rule as the Irish Volunteers were determined to have it, despite the world war. The Belfast News Letter said: "Ulstermen having fought to deliver Belgium from the Prussian aggressor will not tamely submit to the subjugation of their province." Then followed the May, 1915, act which probably had as much or more to do in turning the Irish Volunteers back to their old traditions than any one event of the early stages of the war. It was the formation of the coalition government into which Sir Edward Carson was received as a cabinet member. Here was Carson taken into the very highest places of the British government with the memory of Bachelor's Walk still so fresh in the minds of the free Ireland faction.

The *Freeman's Journal*, which was not in sympathy with the Irish Volunteers, being the mouthpiece of the Constitutional Nationalists under Redmond and Dillon, said: "The crown of the scandal is the appointment of Sir Edward Carson. The appointment is a party outrage. He did not hob-nob with German philosophers; but he lunched with the Kaiser; and he was aware of the visit of the German Embassy to Ulster. Baron Kuhlmann attended at Belfast to review the troops; the troops that Colonel Reppington, the slanderer of Kitchener, assured Europe were fit to meet the most seasoned troops of Continental armies."

Notwithstanding the blundering, recruiting went on at a high rate in the early months of 1915. By August, General Friend, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland, stated that 80,000 men had volunteered for service in the world war, and of these recruits, 44,000 were Roman Catholics. By December 15, 1915, Ulster's enrollment was given as 48,760, and of these more than one-fourth were Roman Catholics.

The South and West did not lose interest in the war and cease to give respectful attendance on the singing of "God Save the King" till the latter part of 1915.

Wells and Marlowe, in their *History of the Rebellion*, say, in commenting upon the change that occurred at this time: "First among them, no doubt, was the increasing vigor of the Sinn Fein propaganda; but also there grew up a feeling—and it existed even among Nationalists who called themselves pro-Ally, that Ireland

had a limited interest in the war. Thirdly, as in England so in Ireland, the appeal of adventure had been by this time pretty fully exploited; economic pressure, too, had done its work. And, finally, the argument about Home Rule on the statute book had lost its power of inducing Irishmen to join the army."

New Ireland, anticipating a third postponement of the Home Rule act, said: "If there is to be a third postponement in the coming March, the country will be utterly exasperated, and the Irish party (Redmond) will have become discredited beyond a hope of recovery. The official Nationalist policy has degenerated into one long humiliating effort to impress upon the English mind that Irishmen have ceased to think of Irish interests, and care for nothing but the victory of the Empire; and the only triumph that policy can secure are the occasional patronizing references in the English Tory press to the miraculous transformation of Ireland's attitude. If either history or the present psychology of nations has any bearing upon the present day, no wilder gamble was ever played with the future destinies of Ireland."

"Nothing now is going well," records Wells, "whatever point of view one took, unless it were that of those determined upon revolution at all costs, or that of those who at all costs were determined upon the defeat of Home Rule."

To what extent the government's interference with the Irish Volunteers at this time, by way of disarming them and otherwise treating them with suspicion, was due to Sir Edward Carson's influence in the Cabinet, the leaders were unable to state. That such influences were at work was their belief. Immediately their whole thought again centered on the fate of Ireland, and not the fate of the rest of the world. The provocative interference of the government with this faction finally called forth a public statement from the Council of the Volunteers in the latter part of March, a few days before the Easter insurrection. The statement follows:

"With regard to the recent proceedings of the government towards the Irish Volunteers, the Council of the Irish Volunteers, which met on the 26th instant, wish to warn the public that the general tendency of the government's action is to force a highly dangerous situation. The government is well aware that the possession of arms is essential to the Irish Volunteer organization, and the Volunteers cannot submit to being disarmed, either in numbers or detail, without surrendering and abandoning the position they have held at all times since their first formation. The Volunteer organization also cannot maintain its efficiency without organizers. The raiding for arms and attempted disarming of

men, therefore, in the natural course of things can only be met by resistance and bloodshed. None of the Irish Volunteers recognizes, or will ever recognize, the right of the government to disarm them or to imprison their officers and men in any fashion. The Council also draws attention to the repeated instances in which the government's arbitrary action has been associated with the movements of hostile crowds, which are led to believe that they act under government approval. In this Council's belief, this feature of the case is based on a deliberate policy of creating hostility between sections of the Irish people. No aid need be hoped from remonstrance with the government, but we appeal to the Irish people to look closely into the facts in every instance and keep a watch on the conduct and policy of the authorities, and to fix the responsibility for any grave consequence that may arise."

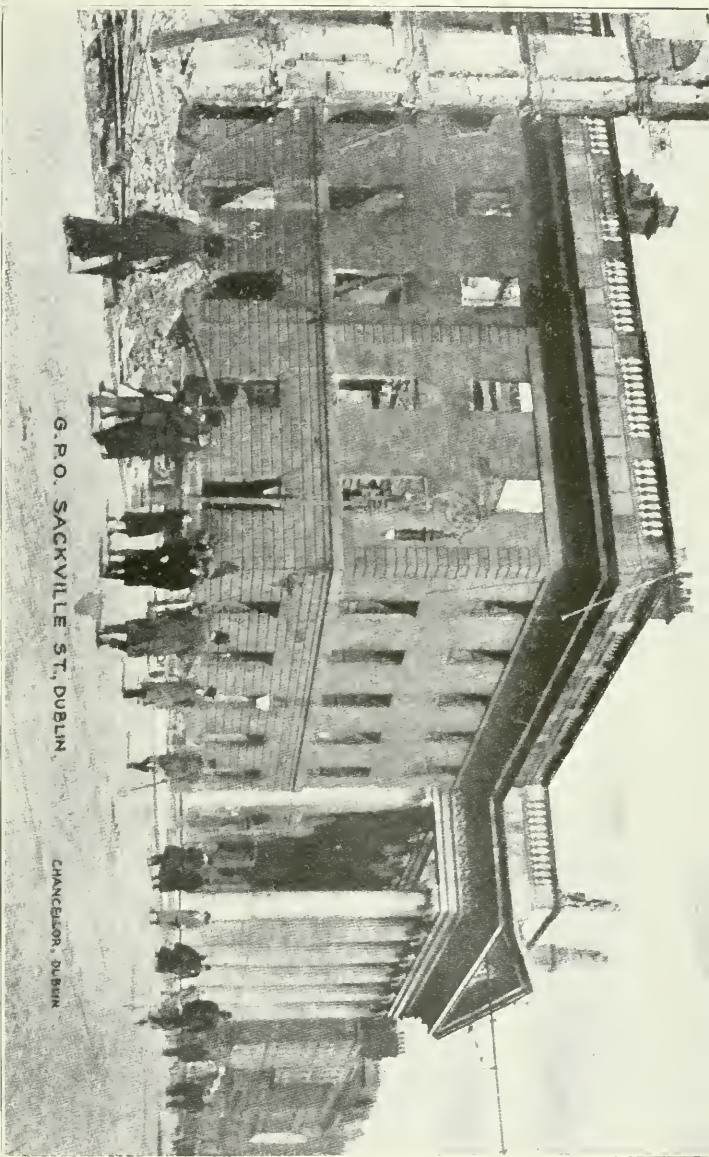
Says Wells: "A religious element did not enter in any way into the rebellion of 1916, as it had entered conspicuously into rebellions in the past. The rebels of 1916 did not hesitate to seize a convent which occupied a position of some tactical importance, nor did they scruple to send about his business any ecclesiastic who came to them with unpalatable advice."

Two seemingly trivial incidents should be noted in trying to understand by what blundering loyal Ireland of August, 1914, was turned into an Ireland torn with bitterness, resentment and distrust in 1916. To some, perhaps, these incidents may appear of capital importance. It is related that when Redmond went home and took the recruiting platform, and the young men of Ireland hastened to the colors, two stalwart boys from Newcastle-on-the-Tyne hastened to Dublin to enlist in his majesty's service. When, as the story was circulated throughout all the South and the West, these two young men appeared before the recruiting officer (an Englishman) they were informed that their services were not needed; that they had too many Irish cattle in the army already, and that England was going to win the war without them.

Whatever the truth of this story, it went through Home Rule Ireland like an electric shock. It turned the minds of men, women and youths back upon their traditions. They dusted off the volumes of forgotten lore and communed again, in spirit at least, with the heroes of the past, and the contrast in their minds between their household penates and his majesty the king were not exactly favorable to the king.

The second incident was the "insult" to the rising consciousness of a nationhood when the Irish Division from the South was denied the right to adopt a distinguishing insignia for the Division.

It is related that this insignia, on which the harp was prominently displayed, was rejoiced in by the sturdy young men who had taken up arms for the Empire. Like another horror that was wholly unexplainable, except on the ground of utter contempt for Irishmen as Irishmen, came the order from London to tear up their insignia. It was said that the order was sent by the late Lord Kitchener himself, and that, accompanying it was the implication that such an insignia was an insult to his majesty the king; that only the king enjoyed the prerogative of approving such distinctive badges. Perhaps even this "wet blanket" could have been overcome or forgotten had it not been that, at about the same time, Sir Edward Carson and his associates in the British Cabinet were able to secure for the Ulster Division the distinguishing insignia of the Red Hand of Ulster. As the incidents were repeated from mouth to mouth in the South and West there ensued the settled conviction again in many cottages that Irishmen could never hope to be treated other than with derision by Englishmen in the government. By April, 1916, this feeling had become so intensified in many spots of the South that whether England won the world war was a matter of minor consideration.



G.P.O. SACKVILLE ST., DUBLIN

CHANCELOT, DUBLIN

THESE RUINS STILL STAND

THE GENERAL POST OFFICE WAS COMMANDANT GENERAL CONNOLLY'S HEAD-QUARTERS DURING THE FIGHTING. HARRY BOLAND, DEVALERA'S SECRETARY, WAS FIGHTING BESIDE CONNOLLY WHEN THE LATTER WAS WOUNDED.

CHAPTER XIII

LEADERS OF THE INSURRECTION

THE leaders in the Easter insurrection were scholars—professors, teachers, historians, scientists, poets and artists. John MacNeill, though active in the mobilization of the Volunteers, at the last moment endeavored to stop the uprising and took no part in it. However, he was subsequently sentenced to death and then life imprisonment. Among learned men everywhere he was held in high esteem.

Thomas MacDonagh was a man of letters, known favorably by the critics of the British Empire.

"I am a Gael," he wrote. "My race has refused to yield even to defeat, and emerges strong today, full of hope and of love, with new strength in its arms to work its new destiny, with a new song on its lips, and the words of a new language still calling from age to age; which is the ancient language."

Ceannt and Joseph Plunkett had attracted attention in the arts.

Madame Markievicz was favorably known from Montmartre to the Latin Quarter in Paris for her versatility and her scholarship.

Pearse was the most accomplished of the Gaelic students. He was one of Ireland's greatest educators and at St. Enda's he taught a spiritual patriotism and a love for the old Ireland that placed him in the front rank of learned men.

In a paper contributed to the *Irish Review* he sketched his views of what a school should be. He wrote: "A school in fact, according to the conception of our wise ancestors, was less a place than a person; a teacher with a little group of pupils clustering around him. Its place might be poor, nay, it might have no local habitation at all, it might be peripatetic—where the Master went, the disciples followed. One may think of our Lord and His friends as a sort of school; was He not the Master, and were not they the disciples? That gracious conception was not only the conception of the old Gael, Pagan and Christian, but it was the conception of Europe all through the middle ages. . . . The modern child is coming to regard his teacher as an official paid by the state to render him certain services; services which it is his interest to avail himself of, since, by so doing, he will increase his earning capacity later on; but services the rendering and acceptance of which no more imply a sacred relationship than do the rendering and accepting of the services of a dentist and

chiropracist. . . . Against this trend I would oppose the ideal of those who shaped the Gaelic polity nearly 2,000 years ago. . . . The old Irish system, Pagan and Christian, possessed in pre-eminent degree the thing most needful in education—an adequate inspiration. Columcille suggested what that inspiration was when he said: 'If I die, it shall be from the excess of love that I bear the Gael.' A love and a service so excessive as to annihilate all thought of self, a recognition that one must give all, must be willing always to make the ultimate sacrifice—this is the inspiration alike of the story of Cuchulain and of the story of Columcille, the inspiration that made the one a hero and the other a saint."

De Valera ranked among the foremost mathematicians of the world and was known in all of the schools, colleges and universities for his wide learning. "You have but one life to live and one death to die," he said to his soldiers. "See that you do both like men."

Connolly, who had spent the greater part of his life in Scotland, where he had become identified with the labor movement, has contributed many books of merit on sociological, political and distinctively labor questions. His best known work is *Labor in Irish History*. A companion volume is *The Reconquest of Ireland*.

Desmond Fitzgerald was a man of broad scholarship and better known among the literati of England, where he passed most of his life.

Darrell Figgis was attracting attention in literary circles the world over. In fact, none of the leaders in the insurrection could be put down as mercenaries or traitors, as we understand the word. Psychologically, they may have thought to themselves they had reached the highest plane of spiritualized patriotism and love of country.

Pearse, on April 28, realizing that the game was up and that presently he would be facing the firing squad, wrote in his bulletin: "I am satisfied we have saved Ireland's honor."



REBEL LEADERS

EXECUTED FOR THEIR PART IN THE INSURRECTION

PEARSE WAS PRESIDENT OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND CONNOLLY WAS THE FOUNDER OF THE CITIZENS' ARMY, SUCCEEDING JAMES LARKIN AS LEADER OF THE LABOR FORCES IN IRELAND. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT STOOD THIRTEEN OF THE LEADERS UP AGAINST A WALL AND SHOT THEM TO DEATH.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EXECUTIONS

THE Government, four days after the surrender of the Easter leaders, put the firing squad to work. On May 3 an official announcement stated: "Three signatories of the notice proclaiming the Irish Republic, P. H. Pearse, P. MacDonagh, and T. J. Clarke, have been tried by field court-martial and sentenced to death. The sentence having been duly confirmed, the three above mentioned men were shot this morning."

Says Wells: "That brief announcement may be said to have begun the great revulsion of Irish national feeling which subsequently swept over the whole country and went far towards securing in their death the object which the leaders of the rebellion had failed to secure in their lives. It was not so much the fact of the executions as the manner of them and their announcement which shocked a considerable section of the Irish public. Had the rebel leaders been tried in public, even by a military court; had it been possible to try them all while the tragic events of the rebellion were fresh in the public mind; had their association with Germany and the extreme gravity of their action in relation to the European war been clearly stated and brought home to the Irish people, which, if the sacrifice of soldiers on the battlefields of Europe be a test, had unmistakably proved where lay its sympathies in the war—had such a course been followed, the executions, while they might still have been criticised, would probably not have produced so profound a stir among peaceable Nationalists. It was the bald announcement of the executions, following upon the complete secrecy which invests the proceedings of 'drumhead' courts-martial, with no statement whatever of the degree of guilt which justified the infliction of the capital penalty, that aroused national sentiment.

"The effects of the executions moreover, were cumulative. Day by day, as the rebellion itself receded more and more into memory, day by day the tale of executions was told piecemeal.

"The mood of nationalist sentiment was expressed by Mr. James Stephens in the lines:

*And day by day they told that one was dead,
And day by day the seasons mourned for you
Until that count of woe was finished,
And Spring remembered all was yet to do.*

"On Thursday, May 4, a curt official notice announced the executions of Joseph Plunkett, Edmund Daly, Michael Hanrahan, and William Pearse. On Friday, May 5, followed the announcement of the execution of John MacBride. On Saturday, May 6, it was announced that Constance Georgina Markievicz and Henry O'Hanrahan had been sentenced to death, but that the sentence had been commuted to penal servitude for life by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief. In numerous cases, Sir John Maxwell exercised clemency in commuting death sentences to varying terms of penal servitude, and in remitting portions of sentences of penal servitude; but the daily list of executions in the eyes of the growing mass of nationalist opinion quite offset the effects of this clemency. On Monday, May 8, came the announcement of the executions of Cornelius Colbert, Edmund Kent, Michael Mallin and J. J. Heuston. Three of these were quite unknown names and the notice added that they 'took a very prominent part in the rebellion.'

"On Wednesday, May 10, the execution of Thomas Kent was announced, and in this case it was specifically stated that his offense was the murder of a police constable in the affray near Fermoy. It was not until Thursday, May 11, however, that there was added to a further list of the result of trials by court-martial a notice in the following terms:

"'In view of the gravity of the rebellion, and its connection with German intrigue and propaganda, and in view of the great loss of life and property resulting therefrom, the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief has found it imperative to inflict the most severe penalties on the known organizers of this detestable rising and on those commanders who took an active part in the actual fighting which occurred. It is hoped that these examples will be sufficient to act as a deterrent to intriguers, and to bring home to them that the murder of His Majesty's liege subjects, or other acts calculated to imperil the safety of the realm, will not be tolerated.'

"There followed almost immediately the announcement of the two final executions, those of James Connolly, whose execution had been delayed by his wound, and MacDermot.

"Among other leaders dealt with by secret court-martial sentences amounting in the aggregate to several hundred years of imprisonment were passed. The rank and file taken in the fighting were lodged temporarily in Dublin barracks.

"Meanwhile the process of arresting 'suspects' was in active operation everywhere throughout the country. Some 3,000 persons, apart from those who were being dealt with by court-

martial, were finally deported to England. In the course of this process a not inconsiderable number of men perfectly innocent of any connection with the rising, including even a couple of Orangemen, were arrested. In the haste and confusion of the moment mistakes of this kind could scarcely be avoidable; though they served to add fuel to the fire of resentment against the regime of martial law. Perhaps the most potent cause of unrest, however, were the reports which simultaneously began to circulate that during the military operations in Dublin, a number of peaceful citizens had been deliberately shot without cause by the troops. There was, unhappily, a certain measure of solid and incontrovertible foundation for these reports.

"During the rebellion, three men, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, an ardent pacifist, who was actually on his way to use his influence to put a stop to looting; McIntyre, the editor of an anti-Larkinite paper; and Dixon, the editor of a weekly publication called the *Eye-Opener*, were arrested and taken to Portobello barracks. None of them had the smallest sympathy or connection with the rebellion; but all of them, without any form of trial whatever, were shot at the barracks by order of Captain J. C. Bowen-Colthurst, an (English) officer who was subsequently tried by court-martial, and *found to be of unsound mind*. Other cases of the shooting of innocent persons did undoubtedly occur; but they were explained, if not excused, by the nature of the fighting. . . .

"From all these causes, Sir John Maxwell's administration of Ireland under martial law became in the eyes of a great mass of Nationalists utterly detestable. That old suspicion and dislike of the British army which the war seemed to have destroyed gained a new lease of bitter life. There occurred a profound reaction of National sentiment. The rebel leaders, without any wide public influence in their lives, became in their death popular heroes and martyrs. Martial law, wildly welcomed at the outset as a guarantee of public security, became identified with odious memories of regimes of 'coercion' which had been fading into the forgotten backgrounds of Irish history. Badges of the Republican colours were everywhere openly worn about the streets of Dublin. Throughout the country a wave of emotion swept great numbers of Nationalists into the Republican camp. The whole basis of the constitutional Home Rule movement seemed in imminent danger of being undermined. The origins of the most formidable physical force movement in Irish history seemed to be in process of being laid in the ruins of the rebellion.

"The aggregate of persons deported was about 3,000. Some of the cases were quickly dealt with, and the men released after

a short detention. Finally about 2,000 prisoners reached the Frongoch internment camp in North Wales. Of these, about seventy per cent were set free three months later on the recommendation of an advisory committee. Meanwhile, the public had taken good care of the families of the rebels; two separate funds started for this purpose collected within two months a sum of eleven thousand pounds. . . .

"Evidence of the breakdown of the existing machinery of Irish government was visible in the heart of Dublin, which wore the appearance of a war-swept town in Flanders. Nor was the strength and depth of the desire of all parties in Ireland for a settlement open to question. There hung on the walls of Dublin and other Irish towns a recruiting poster, the first lines of which displayed in bold type these words: 'The curse of War—What it means—Keep it from Ireland's Fields and Towns.' Some of these posters in Dublin now hung in mockery scored with bullet holes. The curse of war had come upon Ireland, and the citizens of Dublin, at least, knew only too well what war meant. They had heard in their streets the rattle of musketry, the vicious knocking of machine guns, the boom of artillery, the screech and deafening explosion of shells. They had seen their dead lying in streets lit up by the glare of infernal conflagrations."



CLARKE, MACDONAGH AND MACBRIDE

MacDONAGH AND CLARKE WERE SIGNATORIES TO THE PROCLAMATION OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC. MacBRIDE WAS SECOND IN COMMAND OF THE FORCES. HE FOUGHT AGAINST THE BRITISH IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

CHAPTER XV

AN EYE FOR AN EYE

THE judicial mind in England dismissed the executions as "severe but just." There can be no complaint of this attitude, for British jurisprudence is exactly that, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It is as much their philosophy of life as it is for the Quaker to exclaim, "Forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

The English attitude embalms a Portia in literature but never puts her in wig and gown and commits to her the scales of blindfolded and sometimes blind justice.

The rule comes down through the centuries, even from the ancient king who did not hesitate to chop off the heads of a few wives, and mark the spot with a tablet, in liberalizing Christianity to the extent of condoning libertinism in the royal palaces. We cannot appropriate to ourselves the justification of inherited tendencies to rebel against kings and not concede to the Briton the inherited tendency to insist on stern justice and to bless it with a text. They did as much to Nathan Hale.

But that part of Ireland that looks to Dublin, even sentimentally, as its capital, instead of Westminster, was now in disgrace. It could not set forth its justification, even if it would, as England controlled the cables and the censors. It is doubtful if the nations allied with England cared for an explanation. They saw only the external act and said England did right. They did not care for specious philosophizing or homilies on the Sermon on the Mount. Dublin's Ireland was a traitor and that was enough. To the quicklime with the insurrectionists!

And so "free Ireland," in sorrow but not in tears, returned to its cottage and its hedgerow to immortalize the Easter Week "martyrs" in new lyrics and ballads and obelisks, and there abide against Another Day.

In the first resentment toward the insurrectionists that swept over the North, partition was proclaimed again as the only thinkable solution, that Ulster was done forever with the Dublin "rebels." And the British government, enraged that the Empire should have been endangered, said likewise. While Easter Week further rooted the seeds of republicanism in the island, it also rooted the British ruling classes against any form of self-government for Ireland that was not acceptable to Ulster. Partition became the watchword.

CHAPTER XVI

PARTITION

PARTITION to real Irishmen would be like splitting the chalices on their altars, or wrenching an arm from the Venus de Milo in the presence of her creator.

Let us apply the wisdom of Solomon with the mother and babe. The real Ireland—the Ireland of the fathers, which in its warm heart had an almost supernatural affection for the green sod; the Ireland which could have peace after seven centuries of superhuman endurance and suffering, both of its flesh and its pride, would it part with a small corner of the holy earth—this Ireland of the traditions is yet firm to endure still another cycle rather than recover its own with mutilation of the physical thing.

Which is the true Ireland? Which has the ineffable essence of pure patriotism? Which has the love that is undefiled and enduring as the eternal hills, even as the love of the mother for its own flesh and blood? Which walks on streets of gold though it be a bog? Which, King Solomon, are the real people—they who would hack off their corner of the Emerald Isle, a corner garnered at first by brigandage and theft, and take it across the sea to England, or they who still would sweat in humiliation and horror lest so ghastly a thing be done?

Might you as well turn the sepulchre in the land of Moab into a huckster's shop, or put the leaden image of a Nero on the Hill of Tara.

The soul of the real Ireland clothes it in a robe of divinity.

Ireland! It is the very Ark of the Covenant. Every foot of it holds something that would strike the scoffer dead in his tracks did he profane it beyond endurance. Such is love of country.

Alas! It is, we fear, too subtle for pheasant-chasing linen drapers and plover-stuffed ship makers—for vergers who thank Jehovah they are not as other men are.

Let us examine the partition proposal of Mr. Carson and his aids a little farther. Substantially, all Catholics in Ireland are Home Rulers or Sinn Feiners. They are solidly against partition. A considerable number of the Covenanters and persons of no announced religious preference are Home Rulers or Sinn Feiners, so that the Catholic population does not represent the

full strength of these opposed to partition, as well as in favor either of Home Rule or complete separation.

There are in what is known as the province of Ulster nine counties, the province Mr. Carson says should be allowed to separate itself from Ireland and become an appanage of the Crown. In these nine counties the Covenanters—Carsonites—are in the majority in only four counties. They are the counties of Ant-
rim, Armagh, Down and Londonderry. Their majority in Ant-
rim is 29.5 per cent of the population; in Armagh, 5.67 per cent; in Down, 18.44 per cent; and in Londonderry, 8.46 per cent. In all the other five counties of the province of Ulster they are in the minority, and in all the other twenty-eight counties of Ireland they are a negligible quantity. And yet these four counties of Covenanters, led by Mr. Carson, have more influence at London than all the other twenty-eight counties of Ireland put together. On a question of what sort of government the people would like to try the twenty-eight counties are disfranchised by the English government in deference to Mr. Carson. The government solemnly announces it will not "coerce Ulster"—four counties—but will use the full strength of the military forces to coerce the twenty-eight counties, in most of which the public will virtually is unanimous.

It is as if four states in the United States were strong enough at Washington to prescribe the sort of government all the other states in the Union should come under.

The last official census of religious professions in Ireland was taken in 1911. Since then the Catholic and self-government forces have been increasing rapidly, have been creeping up on the Ulster stronghold, so much so that in the last election—December 14, 1918—they carried one seat in Londonderry town itself, the very heart center of the Covenanters.

Eliminating the rapidly increasing self-government population and the decreasing Unionist strength of the last eight years, and employing the figures of 1911, showing total population and religious preferences, we are afforded a striking situation which will shed a great deal of light on the question if the figures are read intelligently and without prejudice. They are:

COUNTIES—	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Percent- age</i>	<i>Covenanters</i>	<i>Per- cent- age</i>
			<i>and All Others</i>	
Carlow	32,317	89.15	3,935	10.85
Dublin	122,372	70.99	50,022	29.01
(Dublin County Borough)....	253,370	83.13	51,432	16.87
Kildare	54,684	82.07	11,943	17.93

Kilkenny	71,193	94.97	3,769	5.03
Kings	51,178	90.05	5,654	9.95
Longford	40,297	91.96	3,523	8.04
Louth	58,303	91.58	5,362	8.42
Meath	60,660	93.19	4,431	6.81
Queen's	48,480	88.74	6,149	11.26
Westmeath	54,779	91.32	5,207	8.68
Wexford	94,413	92.31	7,860	7.69
Wicklow	47,999	79.06	12,712	20.94

Province of Connaught—

Galway	177,920	97.64	4,304	2.36
Leitrim	58,159	91.47	5,423	8.53
Mayo	188,069	97.86	4,108	2.14
Roscommon	91,731	97.63	2,225	2.37
Sligo	72,125	91.24	6,920	8.76

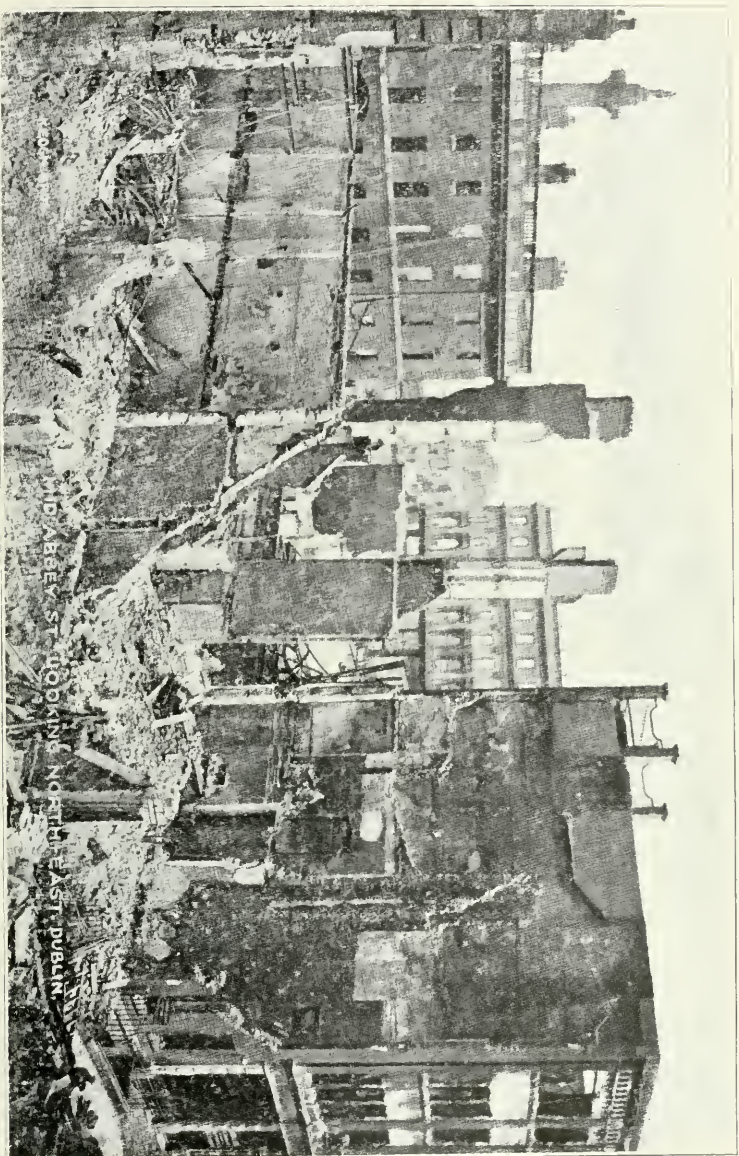
Province of Munster—

Clare	102,300	98.14	1,932	1.86
Cork (County)	288,455	91.45	26,986	8.55
Cork (County Borough)	67,814	88.44	8,859	11.56
Kerry	155,322	97.26	4,369	2.74
Limerick (County)	101,502	97.08	3,049	2.92
Limerick (Borough)	34,865	90.52	3,653	9.48
Tipperary	144,156	94.57	8,277	5.43
Waterford (County)	54,060	95.68	2,442	4.32
Waterford (Borough)	25,331	92.23	2,133	7.77

Province of Ulster—

Antrim	39,751	20.50	154,113	79.50
Armagh	54,526	45.33	65,765	55.67
Belfast (Borough)	93,243	24.10	293,704	75.90
Cavan	74,271	81.46	16,902	18.54
Donegal	133,021	78.93	35,516	21.07
Down	64,485	31.56	139,818	68.44
Fermanagh	34,740	56.18	27,096	43.82
Londonderry	41,478	41.54	58,367	58.46
Londonderry (Borough)	22,923	56.21	17,857	43.79
Monaghan	53,363	74.68	18,092	25.32
Tyrone	79,015	55.39	63,650	44.61

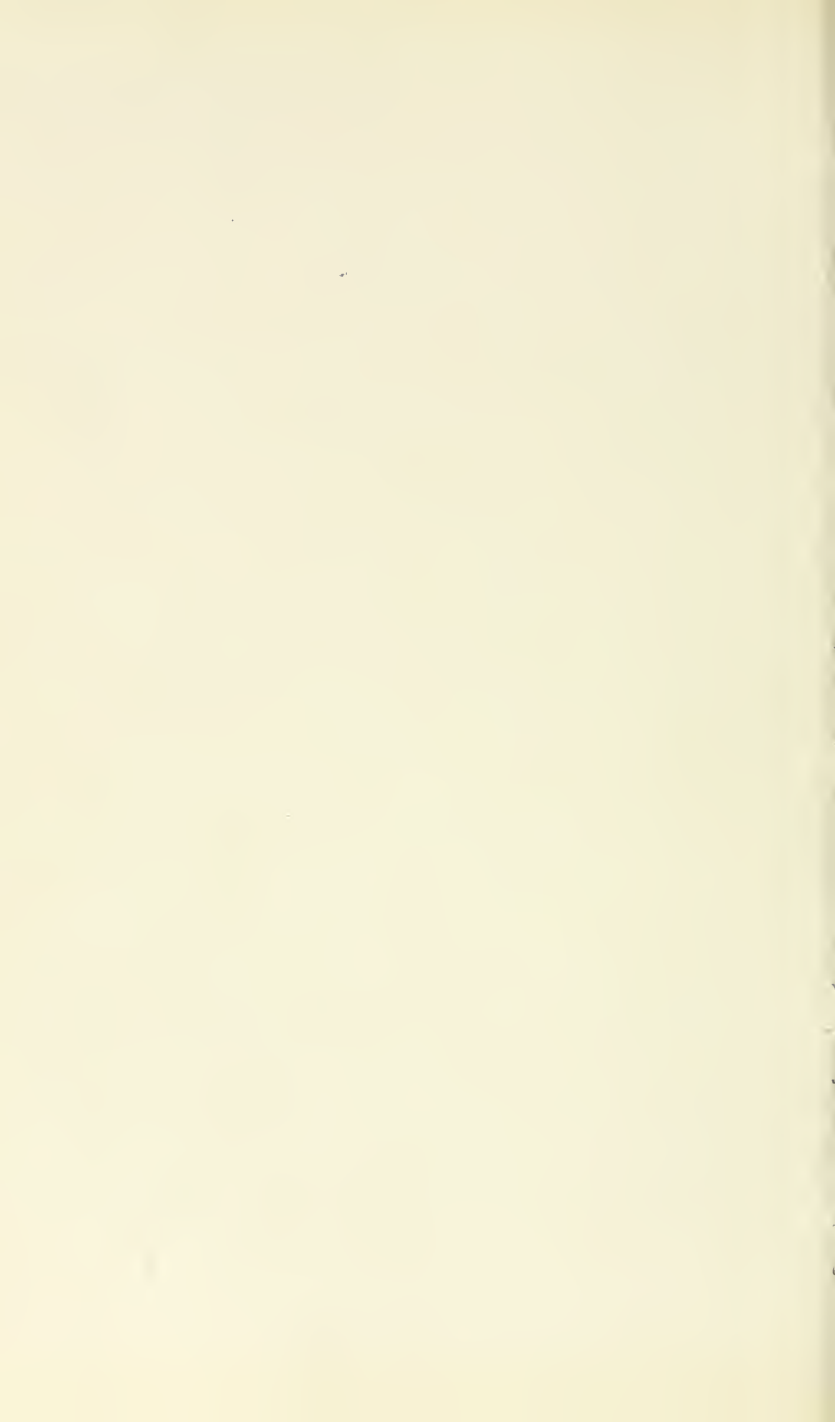
In the constitutional convention of 1917-18, the Catholics insisted that a provision be written clearly that would absolutely protect the Covenanters of Ulster in the full enjoyment of religious freedom.



DOUGHERTY ST. LOOKING NORTH-EAST DUBLIN

WAS ONCE OFFICE OF THE "EVENING TELEGRAPH"

THOM'S PRINTING OFFICE ALSO IS IN RUINS, AND IN BACKGROUND ON LEFT IS THE
UPPER PORTION OF THE PRINCE'S STREET SIDE OF THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.



CHAPTER XVII

THE MOVING WHY THEY DID IT

WHAT was the philosophy of Easter Week? The same in principle as the philosophy of the Poles and Czechs. Any nation or combination of nations opposed to their oppressors was their friend.

Poland pleaded with Napoleon to rescue her from her unhappy plight. They strewed the streets with roses when he came to Warsaw. One of Poland's fairest daughters flung herself at his feet and offered him her very soul if he would give the word and call Poland back to her proud eminence. Napoleon had other fish to fry. All Poland got out of the Corsican was an illegitimate son.

Poland was not even a physical thing in 1916. There had been no Poland for many years. Three royal autocrats—rulers by divine right—long since had stolen and partitioned that choice piece of the earth's surface, just as divine right, and later Cromwellian rogues had stolen, plundered and exploited the land in Ireland, because they were powerful enough to do it. It was the desire for land and revenue that took the English kings to Ireland just as it was the lust for land and revenue that took the Prussian, the Austrian and the Russian monarchs to Poland. Henry II, Henry VIII, James I, Elizabeth and their successors were not interested in giving Ireland a decent government. They wanted Ireland's fertile acres, but in both cases—Ireland and Poland—there was one thing that could not be stolen or purchased—their soul. So it was that, in the war of American Independence, the Kosciuskos and Pulaskis were fighting side by side with Irish emigrants under George Washington's ensign. Both Pole and Irishman hated kings and emperors and all the unholy and wicked things they stood for.

Had Germany and the United States been fighting England and France, say, the Poles in Germany potentially would have been against the United States. It is the natural law. They would have been at heart for any nation that threatened the stability of their oppressors, just as the liberty-loving Czechs would have sympathized with any nation that threatened the Hapsburg dynasty. For plotting against their oppressors, and thereby technically committing treason against the *de facto* government, the Poles and Czechs are highly honored, which, in the circumstances, meets with our full and enthusiastic approval. But Easter Week Ireland, actuated by the same fundamental outlook, is condemned

and traduced unmercifully. It should be noted, too, that the Easter rising came before the United States entered the war.

In the hearts of the leaders of the Easter affair there was even more profound hatred of all things British than there was, if possible, hatred of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs on the part of the Poles and Czechs.

It was not on Ireland's recommendation that the United States became the ally of England. It was one of those throws of Fate's dice in which Ireland was not consulted; and however much the peoples of the countries of the Allies may condemn the men responsible for the Easter affair, it seems only fair to them to record that their vision did not extend beyond Ireland's shores—that they were acting on what they believed were the noblest of motives, and on the program laid down by their rebellious ancestors for generations, to hit England when she was in trouble elsewhere.

Father O'Flannagan, the apotheosis of philosophic Sinn Feinism, has expressed the mental attitude of the Easter Week leaders in a compressed simile. He said that when the mouse, with the cat's paw on its neck, saw a fighting terrier come around the corner, the mouse became pro-dog!

It is probable that the Easter Week leaders would have taken help from any people in the world who would have tendered it, regardless of how they were aligned on the world war. Whatever advantage Germany took of this attitude, or attempted so to do before the United States came in, was the same advantage, in principle, the United States and the Allies later exploited with the Poles and Czechs, by the organization of an extensive propaganda in enemy countries.

The Easter Week leaders represented a small part of the Irish people at that time. It was not until after the conscription act and the deportations, two years later, that three-fourths of Ireland went over to the "trustees of the blood" of the martyrs of Easter Week.

It has been charged that the Easter rising leaders stabbed England in the back. Their associates refute this. They correct the misapprehension by stating they stabbed England in the face! It was the advice Grattan, Emmet, O'Connell and Parnell had bequeathed to them—England's difficulty will be Ireland's opportunity!

We, in America, may feel that the Easter Week forces acted on bad advice, and immeasurably injured Ireland's cause before the world. We may, however, be able to dissociate ourselves from the purely utilitarian aspect and view the episode as an ab-

straction. If we do that, we may understand why they did it, though we do not approve of the doing itself. Might we forgive them on the ground that they didn't fully comprehend what they were doing; that, in their enormous hatred of Britain, they mistook the mirage for the expedient moment?

A dream! A dream! an ancient dream!
Yet ere peace come to Innisfail,
Some weapons on some field must gleam,
Some burning glory fire the Gael.

That field may lie beneath the sun,
Fair for the treading of an host:
That field in realms of thought be won,
And armed hands to their uttermost.

Some way, to faithful Innisfail,
Shall come the majesty and awe
Of martial truth that must prevail
To lay on all the eternal law.

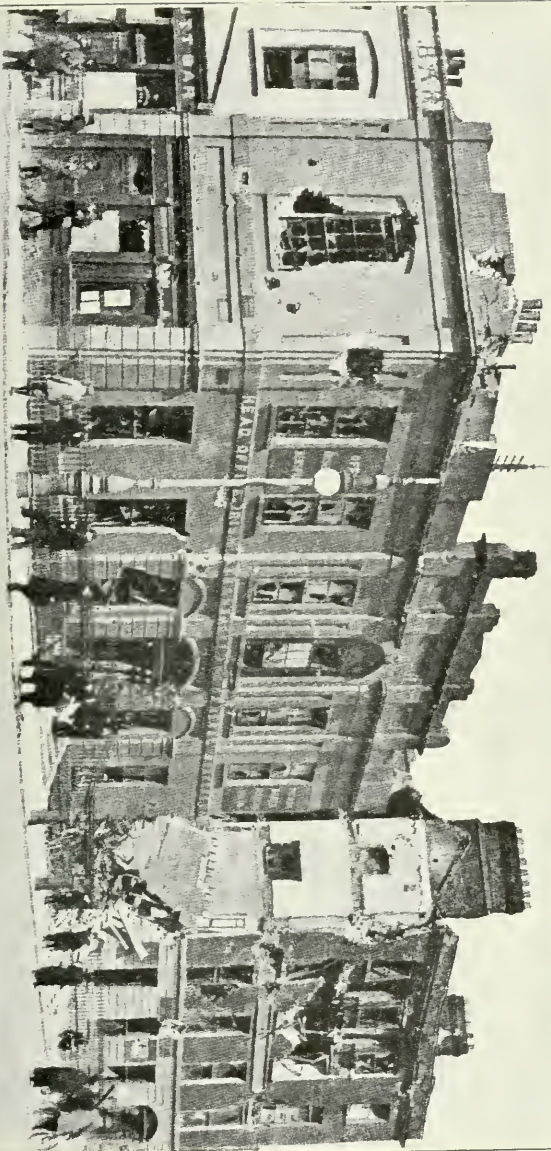
—*Lionel Johnson.*

CHAPTER XVIII

THE UNITED STATES COMES IN

LESS than twelve months after the Easter rising the United States came into the war. Mr. Balfour, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, came to the United States and was the guest of President Wilson. He addressed the United States Senate. He visited Washington's tomb, and went home. It is assumed that from high official sources, while in America, he gathered the idea that it would be wise to attempt a settlement of the Irish question immediately, not so much for the sake of the physical island of Ireland itself, as for the sake of bringing the English-speaking peoples of the world together. There are some 20,000,000 American citizens in the United States of Irish descent. There is a considerable population of Irish descent in Australia. There are Irishmen in South Africa and in India and in Egypt, besides the Irishmen in England, in Scotland, in Wales and in Ireland. It was conceived to be in the nature of a war measure, in fact, to see to it if something could not be done to remove the Irish question from the politics of the world, and bring all the English-speaking allies opposed to Germany together in a solid organization, not only for the prosecution of the war, but for the great benefits that would follow after the war. In any event, soon after Mr. Balfour's return to England, the wheels were set in motion and an effort made to sound out the Irish leaders as to whether the time was propitious for another effort at settlement. Mr. Lloyd George consulted with Mr. Redmond, leader of the Nationalists, and submitted to him the alternative proposition; Home Rule by conceding the partition of Ireland, and the setting of Ulster off to one side, or a convention of Irish leaders in Ireland to discover whether they could agree among themselves. Mr. Redmond promptly rejected the partition plan, and accepted the convention plan. Thereupon, the convention machinery was set up, and there was about to be carried to fruition what the world has despaired of beholding, namely, Irishmen themselves agreeing at home what sort of government they wanted. It is true that the Ulster members of that convention announced and maintained the mental reservation to non-concur in any report the convention might make in the end, regardless of what their attitude might be in the sittings of the several sessions.

It should be kept in mind that when the convention was set



CHANCELLOR DUBLIN

LIBERTY HALL. HEAD-QUARTERS OF CITIZEN ARMY, DUBLIN.

WHERE LARKIN USED TO INSPIRE HIS MEN

THIS BUILDING WAS UNDER BOTH ARTILLERY FIRE FROM TARA STREET AND GUN
FIRE FROM THE IRISH LIGHTS' PATROL SHIP, "HELGA," FROM THE RIVER, THE

up, Ireland was given to understand, and the world so understood it, that if the convention "substantially agreed" the crown stood pledged to carry out that agreement by immediate legislation in the Imperial Parliament. In this connection it is of historical value to reproduce the letter of Mr. David Lloyd George, the English Premier, to Sir Horace Plunkett, chairman of the Irish convention, under date of February 25, 1918.

10 Downing Street,
London, S. W.,
25th February, 1918.

Dear Sir Horace Plunkett:

I had the privilege of discussing, during the last three weeks, the situation in the Irish convention with the delegates whom the convention appointed to confer with the government. You will allow me to thank the convention for sending over a delegation so representative of all groups of opinion within the convention. The government have hereby been enabled to learn the views of different parties, and to appreciate better than would otherwise have been possible the position that has now been reached within the convention. I regret that the urgency of questions vital to the immediate conduct of the war has protracted the meetings with various groups longer than it was hoped would be necessary, but I am confident the convention will recognize the exceptional circumstances of the time and will understand there has been no avoidable delay.

The conclusions to which the government have come as a result of their interviews with the representatives of the convention, may be stated as follows:

The government are determined that, so far as is in their power, *the labours of the convention shall not be in vain*. On receiving the report of the convention, the government *will give it immediate attention*, and will proceed *with the least possible delay to submit legislative proposals to Parliament*. They wish, however, to emphasize the urgent importance of getting a settlement in and through the convention. The convention has been brought together to endeavor to find a settlement by consent. If the convention fails to secure this, the settlement of the question will be much more difficult, but it will be a task incumbent on the government. It is, therefore, of the highest importance both for the present situation and for future good relations in and with Ireland that the settlement should come from an Irish assembly, and from mutual agreement among all parties. To secure this, there must be concessions on all sides. It has been so in every

convention, from that of the U. S. A., to that of South Africa.

There is, however, a further consideration which has an important bearing on the possibilities of the present situation. During the period of the war, it is necessary to proceed as far as possible by agreement. Questions on which there is an acute difference of opinion in Ireland or in Great Britain must be held over for determination after the war. At the same time, it is clear to the government, in view of previous attempts at settlement, and of the deliberations of the convention itself, that the only hope of agreement lies in a solution which, on the one side, provides for the *unity of Ireland under a single legislature with adequate safeguards for the interests of Ulster* and the Southern Unionists, and, on the other, preserves the well-being of the Empire and the fundamental unity of the United Kingdom.

It is evident that there is, on the part of all parties in the convention, a willingness to provide for and safeguard the interests of the Empire and of the United Kingdom. A settlement can now be reached which will reserve by common consent to the Imperial Parliament its suzerainty, and its control of Army, Navy and Foreign Policy and other Imperial services, while providing for Irish representation at Westminster, and for a proper contribution from Ireland to Imperial expenditure. All these matters are now capable of being settled within the convention on a basis satisfactory both to the Imperial government and to Ireland.

There remains, however, the difficult question of customs and excise. The government are aware of the serious objections which can be raised against the transfer of these services to an Irish Legislature. It would be practically impossible to make such a disturbance of the fiscal and financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland in the midst of a great war. It might also be incompatible with that federal reorganization of the United Kingdom in favour of which there is a growing body of opinion. On the other hand, the government recognize the strong claim that can be made that an Irish Legislature should have some control over indirect taxation as the only form of taxation which touches the great majority of the people, and which in the past has represented the greater part of Irish revenue.

The government feel that this is a matter which cannot be finally settled at the present time. They therefore suggest for the consideration of the convention that, during the period of the war and for a period of two years thereafter, the control of customs and excise should be reserved to the United Kingdom Parliament; that, as soon as possible after the Irish Parliament

has been established, a Joint Exchequer Board should be set up to secure the determination of the true revenue of Ireland—a provision which is essential to a system of responsible Irish Government, and to the making of a national balance sheet, and that, at the end of the war, a Royal Commission should be established to re-examine impartially and thoroughly the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland, to report on the contribution of Ireland to Imperial expenditure, and to submit proposals as to the best means of adjusting the economic and fiscal relations of the two countries.

The government consider that, during the period of the war, the control of all taxation other than customs and excise could be handed over to the Irish Parliament; that, for the period of the war and two years thereafter an agreed proportion of the annual Imperial expenditure should be fixed as the Irish contribution; and that all Irish revenue from customs and excise, as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board, after deduction of the agreed Irish contribution to Imperial expenditure, should be paid into the Irish Exchequer. For administrative reasons, during the period of the war, it is necessary that the police should remain under Imperial control, and it seems to the government to be desirable that, for the same period, the postal service should be a reserved service.

Turning to the other essential element of a settlement—the securing of an agreement to establish a single Legislature for an united Ireland—the government believe that the convention has given much thought to the method of overcoming objection on the part of the Unionists, North and South, to this proposal. They understand that one scheme provides for additional representation by means of nomination or election. They understand further that it has also been suggested that a safeguard of Ulster interests might be secured by the provision of an Ulster Committee within the Irish Parliament, with power to modify and if necessary to exclude, the application to Ulster of certain measures either of Legislation or Administration, which are not consonant with the interests of Ulster. This appears to be a workable expedient, whereby special consideration of Ulster conditions can be secured, and the objections to a single Legislature for Ireland overcome.

The government would also point to the fact that it has been proposed that the Irish Parliament should meet in alternate sessions at Dublin and Belfast, and that the principal offices of an Irish Department of Manufacturing Industry and Commerce should be located in Belfast. They believe that the willingness

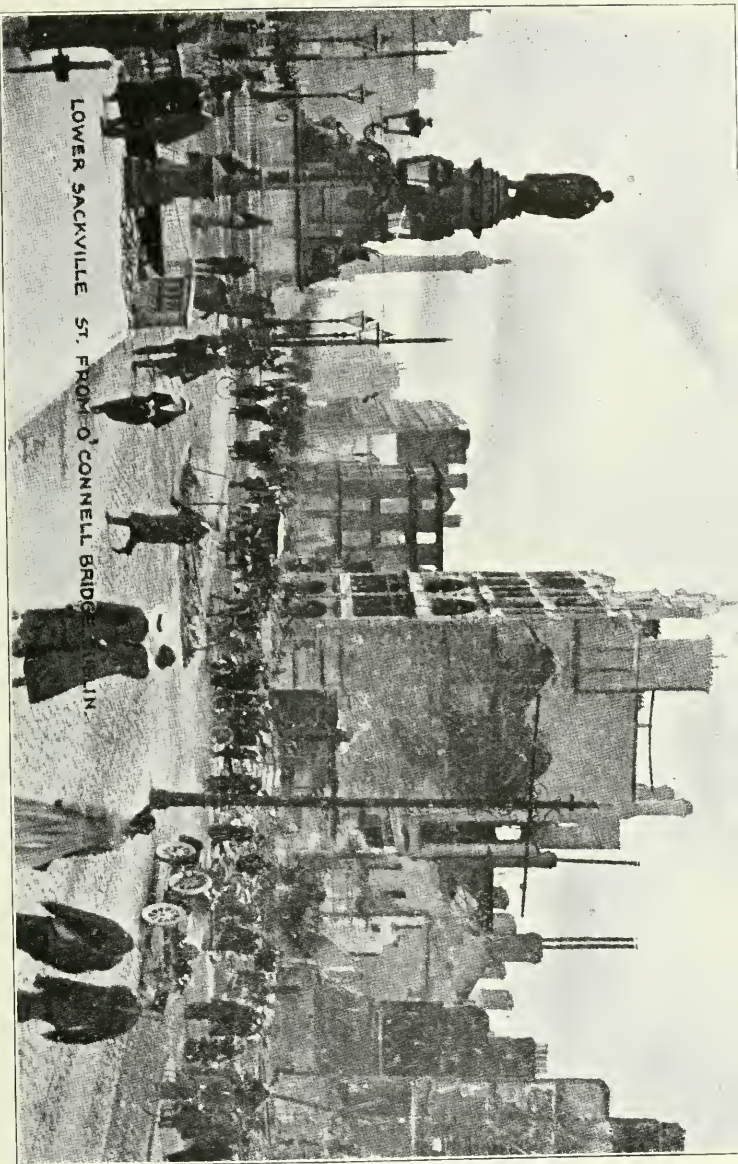
to discuss these suggestions is clear evidence of the desire to consider any expedient which may help to remove the causes of Irish disunion. The fact that, in order to meet the claims of different parts of the community, the South African Convention decided that the Legislature was to be established in Cape Town, the Administrative Departments to be situated in Pretoria, and the Supreme Court was to sit in Bloemfontein, is a proof that proposals such as these may markedly contribute to eventual agreement.

Finally, the government have noted the very important report which has been prepared on the subject of land purchase, and on which an unanimous conclusion has been reached by the Committee of the Convention set up to consider this subject. If this report commends itself to the convention, the government would be prepared to introduce in Parliament as part of the plan of settlement (*and simultaneously with the Bill amending the Government of Ireland Act, 1914*), a measure for the purpose of enabling Parliament to give effect to the recommendations of the convention on the subject of land purchase. The government have also had submitted to them by the Labour representatives in the convention, the need of provision for dealing with the urgent question of housing in Ireland, and on receiving recommendations from the convention on the subject, they would be prepared to consider the inclusion in the scheme of settlement of a substantial provision for immediately dealing with this vital problem.

There thus seems to be within the reach of the convention the possibility of obtaining a settlement which will lay the *foundation of a new era in the government both of Ireland and of Great Britain*. It is a settlement *which will give to Irishmen the control of their own affairs*, while preserving the fundamental unity of the United Kingdom, and enabling Irishmen to work for the good of the Empire, as well as for the good of Ireland. With all the earnestness in their power, the government appeal to the members of the convention to *agree upon a scheme which can be carried out at once*, and which will go a long way towards realizing the hopes of Irishmen all over the world, without prejudice to the future consideration of questions on which at present agreement cannot be attained in Ireland, and which are also intimately connected with constitutional problems affecting every part of the United Kingdom, the consideration of which must be postponed until the end of the present war. This is an opportunity for a settlement by consent that may never recur, and which, if it is allowed to pass, must inevitably entail consequences for which no man can wish to make himself responsible.

Yours sincerely,

D. LLOYD GEORGE.



LOWER SACKVILLE ST. FROM O'CONNELL BRIDGE. IN

"WHERE FIRE RAGED AROUND THE 'LIBERATOR'"
LOOKING AT THE EASTER WEEK RUINS FROM O'CONNELL BRIDGE. EVERY HOUSE
IN THE BLOCK ON THE RIGHT WAS BURNED, INCLUDING THE HOME OF THE

The convention shortly thereafter adjourned and forwarded its report to London. By the terms of that report the convention did "substantially agree." The letter of the chairman, Sir Horace Plunkett, accompanying the report and made a part of the report of the convention, was as follows:

LETTER OF TRANSMISSION FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE IRISH CON-
VENTION TO THE PRIME MINISTER

The Right Honorable D. Lloyd George, M. P.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street, London.

Sir:—I have the honour to transmit herewith the report of the proceedings of the Irish convention.

For the immediate object of the government, the report tells all that needs to be told; it shows that in the convention, whilst it was not found possible to overcome the objections of the Ulster Unionists, a majority of Nationalists, all the Southern Unionists, and five out of the seven Labour representatives were agreed that the scheme of Irish self-government set out in paragraph 42 of the report should be immediately passed into law. A minority of Nationalists propose a scheme which differs in only one important particular from that of the majority. The convention has, therefore, laid a foundation of Irish agreement unprecedented in history.

I recognize that action in Parliament upon the result of our deliberations must largely depend upon public opinion. Without a knowledge of the circumstances which, at the termination of our proceedings, compelled us to adopt an unusual method of presenting the results of our deliberations, the public might be misled as to what has actually been achieved. It is, therefore, necessary to explain our procedure.

We have every reason to believe that the government contemplated immediate legislation upon the results of our labours. The work of an Irish settlement, suspended at the outbreak of the war, is now felt to admit of no further postponement. In the Dominions and in the United States, as well as in other allied countries, the unsettled Irish Question is a disturbing factor, both in regard to war effort and peace aims. Nevertheless, urgent as our task was, we could not complete it until every possibility of agreement had been explored. The moment this point was reached—and you will not be surprised that it took us eight months to reach it—we decided to issue our report with the least possible delay. To do this, we had to avoid further controversy and protracted debate. I was, therefore, on March twenty-second,

instructed to draft a report which should be a mere narrative of the convention's proceedings, with a statement, for the information of the government, of the conclusions adopted, whether unanimously or by majorities.

It was hoped that this report might be unanimously signed, and it was understood that any groups or individuals would be free to append to it such statements as they deemed necessary to give expression to their views. The draft report was circulated on March thirtieth, and discussed and amended on April fourth and fifth. The accuracy of the narrative was not challenged, though there was considerable difference of opinion as to the relative prominence which should be given to some parts of the proceedings. As time pressed, it was decided not to have any discussion upon a majority report, nor upon any minority reports or other statements which might be submitted. The draft report was adopted by a majority, and the chairman and secretary were ordered to sign it, and forward it to the government. A limit of twenty-four hours was by agreement put upon the reception of any other reports or statements, and in the afternoon of April fifth, the convention adjourned sine die.

The public is thus provided with no majority report, in the sense of a reasoned statement in favour of the conclusions upon which the majority are agreed, but is left to gather from the narrative of proceedings what the contents of such a report would have been. On the other hand, both the Ulster Unionists and a minority of the Nationalists have presented minority reports covering the whole field of the convention's enquiry. The result of this procedure is to minimize the agreement reached, and to emphasize the disagreement. In these circumstances I conceive it to be my duty as chairman to submit such explanatory observations as are required to enable the reader of the report and the accompanying documents to gain a clear idea of the real effect and significance of the convention's achievement.

I may assume a knowledge of the broad facts of the Irish Question. It will be agreed that, of recent years, the greatest obstacle to its settlement has been the Ulster difficulty. There seemed to be two possible issues to our deliberations. If a scheme of Irish self-government could be framed to which the Ulster Unionists would give their adherence, then the convention might produce a unanimous report. Failing such a consummation, we might secure agreement, either complete or substantial, between the Nationalist, the Southern Unionist and the Labour representatives. Many entertained the hope that the effect of such a striking and wholly new development would be to induce Ulster to re-

consider its position.

Perhaps unanimity was too much to expect. Be that as it may, neither time nor effort was spared in striving for that goal, and there were moments when its attainment seemed possible. There was, however, a portion of Ulster where a majority claimed that, if Ireland had the right to separate herself from the rest of the United Kingdom, they had the same right to separation from the rest of Ireland. But the time had gone by when any other section of the Irish people would accept the partition of their country even as a temporary expedient. Hence, the Ulster Unionist members in the convention remained there only in the hope that some form of Home Rule would be proposed which might modify the determination of those they represented to have neither part nor lot in an Irish Parliament. The *Nationalists strove to win them by concessions*; but they found themselves unable to accept any of the schemes discussed and the only scheme of Irish government they presented to the convention was confined to the *exclusion of their entire Province*.

Long before the hope of complete unanimity had passed the majority of the convention were considering the possibilities of agreement between the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists. Lord Midleton was the first to make a concrete proposal to this end. The report shows that in November he outlined to the grand committee, and in December brought before the convention what looked like a workable compromise. It accepted self-government for Ireland. In return for special minority representation in the Irish Parliament, already conceded by the Nationalists, it offered to that Parliament complete power over internal legislation and administration and, in matters of finance, over direct taxation and excise. But, although they agreed that the customs revenue should be paid into the Irish exchequer, the Southern Unionists insisted upon the permanent reservation to the Imperial Parliament of the power to fix the rates of customs duties. By far the greater part of our time and attention was occupied by this one question, whether the imposition of customs duties should or should not be under the control of the Irish Parliament. The difficulties of the Irish convention may be summed up in two words—Ulster and customs.

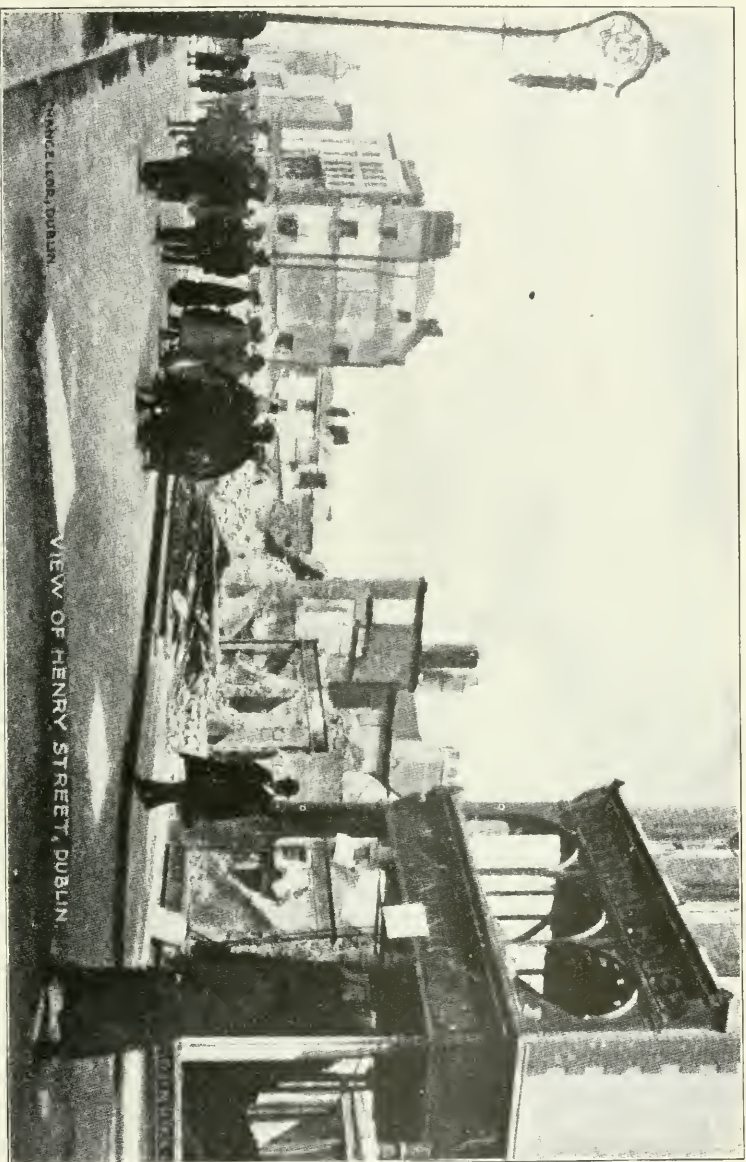
The Ulster difficulty the whole world knows; but how the customs question came to be one of vital principle, upon the decision of which depended the amount of agreement that could be reached in the convention, needs to be told. The tendency of recent political thought among constitutional Nationalists has been towards a form of government resembling as closely as possible

that of the Dominions, and since the geographical position of Ireland imposes obvious restrictions in respect to naval and military affairs, the claim for Dominion Home Rule was concentrated upon a demand for unrestricted fiscal powers. Without separate customs and excise Ireland would, according to this view, fail to attain a national status like that enjoyed by the Dominions.

Upon this issue, the Nationalists made a strong case, and were able to prove that a considerable number of leading commercial men had come to favour fiscal autonomy as part of an Irish settlement. In the present state of public opinion in Ireland, it was feared that without customs, no scheme the convention recommended would receive a sufficient measure of popular support to secure legislation. To obviate any serious disturbance of the trade of the United Kingdom, the Nationalists were prepared to agree to a free-trade arrangement between the two countries. But this did not overcome the difficulties of the Southern Unionists, who on this point agreed with the Ulster Unionists. They were apprehensive that a separate system of customs control, however guarded, might impair the authority of the United Kingdom over its external trade policy. Neither could they consent to any settlement which was, in their judgment, incompatible with Ireland's full participation in a scheme of United Kingdom federation, should that come to pass.

It was clear that by means of mutual concessions agreement between the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists could be reached on all other points. On this important point, however, a section of the Nationalists, who have embodied their views in a separate report, held that no compromise was possible. On the other hand, a majority of the Nationalists and the whole body of Southern Unionists felt that nothing effective could result from their work in the convention unless some understanding was reached upon customs which would render an agreement on a complete scheme attainable. Neither side was willing to surrender the principle; but both sides were willing, in order that a Parliament should be at once established, to postpone a legislative decision upon the ultimate control of customs and excise. At the same time each party has put on record in separate notes subjoined to the report, its claims respecting the final settlement of this question. A decision having been reached upon the cardinal issue, the majority of the convention carried a series of resolutions which together form a complete scheme of self-government.

This scheme provides for the establishment of a Parliament for the whole of Ireland, with an Executive responsible to it, and with full powers over all internal legislation, administration and



WHERE ONE OF FIERCEST STREET BATTLES WAS FOUGHT
IN THE ALLEY ON THE RIGHT A NUMBER OF THE INSURRECTIONISTS, ESCAPING
FROM THE BURNING GENERAL POST OFFICE, RAN INTO A DEADLY FIRE FROM THE
BRITISH MILITARY.

direct taxation. Pending a decision of the fiscal question, it is provided that the imposition of duties of customs and excise shall remain with the Imperial Parliament, but that the whole of the proceeds of these taxes shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer. A joint Exchequer Board is to be set up to determine the Irish true revenue, and Ireland is to be represented upon the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom.

The principle of representation in the Imperial Parliament was insisted upon from the first by the Southern Unionists, and the Nationalists conceded it. It was felt, however, that there were strong reasons for providing that the Irish representatives at Westminster should be elected by the Irish Parliament rather than directly by the constituencies, and this was the arrangement adopted.

It was accepted in principle that there should be an Irish contribution to the cost of Imperial services, but, owing to lack of data, it was not found possible in the convention to fix any definite sum.

It was agreed that the Irish Parliament should consist of two Houses—a Senate of sixty-four members, and a House of Commons of two hundred. The principle underlying the composition of the Senate is the representation of Interests. This is effected by giving representation of commerce, industry and labour, the County Councils, the Churches, learned institutions and the Peerage. In constituting the House of Commons, the Nationalists offered to guarantee forty per cent of its members to the Unionists. It was agreed that, in the South, adequate representation for Unionists could only be secured by nomination; but, as the Ulster representatives had informed the convention that those for whom they spoke could not accept the principle of nomination, provision was made in the scheme for an extra representation of Ulster by direct election.

The majority of the Labour representatives associated themselves with the Nationalists and Southern Unionists in building up the constitution, with the provisions of which they found themselves in general agreement. They frankly objected, however, to the principle of nomination and to what they regarded as the inadequate representation of Labour in the Upper House. Throughout our proceedings they helped in every way towards the attainment of agreement. Nor did they press their own special claims in such a manner as to make more difficult the work, already difficult enough, of agreeing upon a constitution.

I trust I have said enough to enable the reader of this report and the accompanying documents to form an accurate judgment

upon the nature and difficulties of the task before the convention and upon its final achievement. While, technically, it was our function to draft a constitution for our country, it would be more correct to say that we had to find a way out of the most complex and anomalous political situation to be found in history—I might almost say in fiction. We are living under a system of government which survives only because the act abolishing it cannot, consistently with ministerial pledges, be put into operation without further legislation no less difficult and controversial than that which it has to amend. While the responsibility for a solution to our problem rests primarily with the government, the convention found itself in full accord with your insistence that the most hopeful path to a settlement was to be found in Irish agreement. In seeking this—in attempting to find a compromise which Ireland might accept and Parliament pass into law—it has been recognized that the full programme of no party could be adopted. The convention was also bound to give due weight to your opinion that to press for a settlement at Westminster, during the war, of the question which, as I have shown, had been a formidable obstacle to agreement, would be to imperil the prospect of the early establishment of self-government in Ireland.

Notwithstanding the difficulties with which we were surrounded a larger measure of agreement has been reached upon the principle and details of Irish self-government than has ever yet been attained. Is it too much to hope that the scheme embodying this agreement will forthwith be brought to fruition by those to whose call the Irish convention has now responded?

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

8th April, 1918.

Your obedient servant,

HORACE PLUNKETT.

In opposition to this statement of Sir Horace Plunkett, the delegates in the convention representing Northeast Ulster filed a minority report, and to that extent the Ulster delegates, while participating in the convention, did not make the agreement unanimous.

Sir Horace Plunkett, addressing the Irish Fellowship Club in Chicago, in the spring of 1919, gave it as his opinion that the Ulster delegates were restrained from voting as they would have preferred to vote, by "outside influences." What those influences were he did not specify.

Why Ulster should have opposed the frame of self-govern-

ment outlined in the majority report is a bit difficult to understand, since the convention took extraordinary steps to protect the rights of the Ulster minority in the proposed new Irish Parliament. The Nationalists and Home Rulers generally went so far as to approve the section which gave to the Crown, through the Lord Lieutenant, the right arbitrarily to name forty members of the lower house of the proposed new Irish Parliament. They were to be picked with special reference to their Ulster sympathy. This was gladly agreed to by the Nationalists and should be particularly noted as displaying the magnanimity and the tolerance which the South of Ireland felt toward their fellow-men in the North, notwithstanding the religious bitterness which had theretofore characterized their relations. The text of the report setting forth the frame of the new parliament in Ireland, as reported by the convention to Parliament, is as follows:

I. THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

(1) The Irish Parliament to consist of the King, and an Irish Senate, and an Irish House of Commons.

(2) Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in the Government of Ireland Act, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things in Ireland and every part thereof. Section carried by 51 votes to 18.

II. POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have the general power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland, subject to exclusions and restrictions specified in three and four, below. Section carried by 51 votes to 19.

III. EXCLUSIONS FROM POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have no power to make laws on the following matters:

- (1) Crown and succession.
- (2) Making of peace and war (including conduct as neutrals.)
- (3) The Army and Navy.
- (4) Treaties and foreign relations (including extradition).
- (5) Dignities and titles of honour.
- (6) Any necessary control of harbours for naval and military purposes, and certain powers as regards lighthouses, buoys, beacons, cables, wireless terminals, to be settled with reference to the requirements of the Military and Naval forces of His Majesty in various contingencies. Sub-section carried by 41 votes to 13.
- (7) Coinage; legal tender; or any change in the standard of

weights and measures.

(8) Copyright or patent rights. Section carried by 49 votes to 16.

TEMPORARY AND PARTIAL RESERVATION. The Imperial and Irish Governments shall jointly arrange, subject to Imperial exigencies, for the unified control of the Irish Police and Postal services during the war, provided that as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities, the administration of these two services shall become automatically subject to the Irish Parliament. Carried by 37 votes to 21.

IV. RESTRICTION ON POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT ON MATTERS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE:

(1) Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality.

N. B. A sub-section should be framed to annul any existing legal penalty, disadvantage or disability on account of religious belief. Certain restrictions still remain under the Act of 1829.

(2) Special provision protecting the position of Freemasons.

(3) Safeguard for Trinity College, and Queen's University.

(4) Money bills to be founded only on Viceregal message.

(5) Privileges, qualifications, etc., of members of Irish Parliament, to be limited as in Act.

(6) Rights of existing Irish officers to be safeguarded. Section carried by 46 to 15.

V. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. Section 9 (4) of the Act of 1914 to apply to the House of Commons with the substitution of "ten years" for "three years." The constitution of the Senate to be subject to alteration after ten years provided the Bill is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses sitting together. Section carried by 46 votes to 15.

VI. EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. The executive power in Ireland to continue vested in the King, but exercisable through the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive Committee in the manner set out in Act. (Sect. 4.) Section carried by 45 votes to 15.

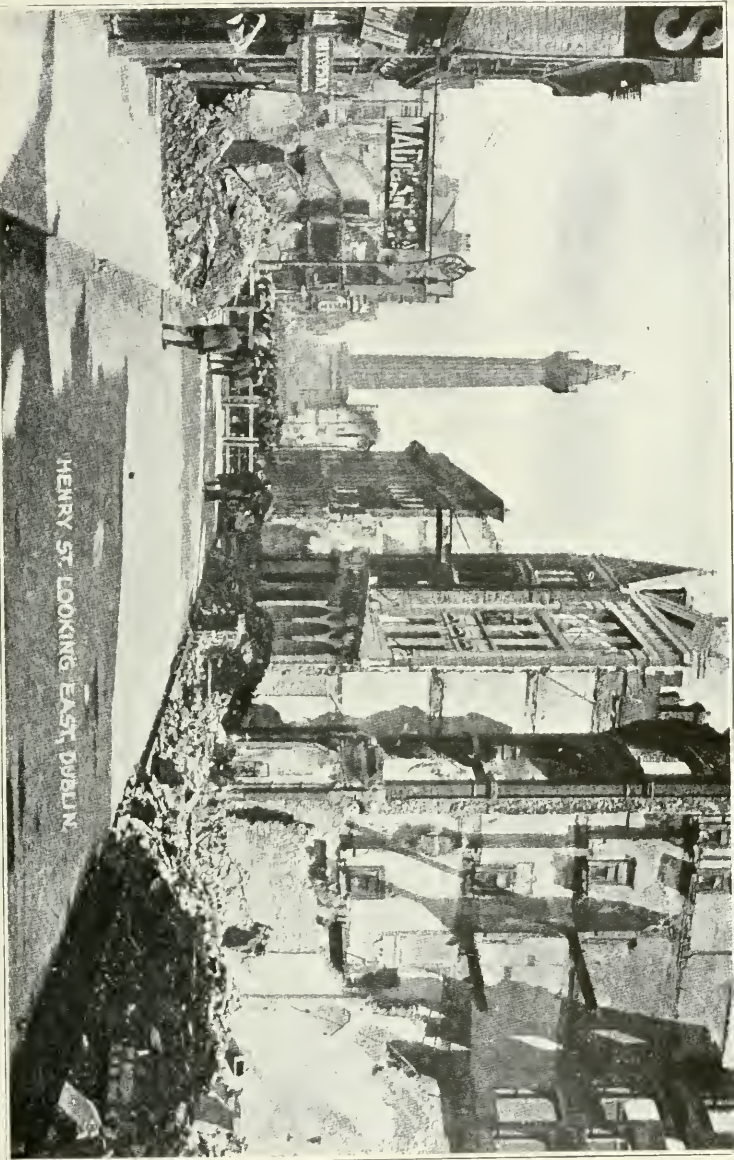
VII. DISSOLUTION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to be summoned, prorogued, and dissolved as set out in Act. Section carried by 45 votes to 15.

VIII. ASSENT TO BILLS. Royal assent to be given or withheld as set out in Act (Sect. 7) with the substitution of "reservation" for "postponement." Section carried by 45 votes to 15.

IX. CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE.

(1) Lord Chancellor 1

(2) Four Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic



HENRY ST. LOOKING EAST, DUBLIN.

THE NELSON PILLAR ALSO SURVIVED

AMONG OTHER BUILDINGS DESTROYED IN THIS SECTION OF THE CAPITAL WERE
THE COLISEUM THEATRE, NEWLY ERECTED AT A COST OF \$200,000, AND BALL'S

	Church	4
(3)	Two Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland...	2
(4)	A representative of the General Assembly.....	1
(5)	The Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast and Cork.....	3
(6)	Peers resident in Ireland, elected by Peers resident in Ireland	15
(7)	Nominated by Lord Lieutenant— Irish Privy Councillors of at least two years' standing. 4 Representatives of learned institutions..... 3 Other persons	4
(8)	Representatives of Commerce and Industry.....	15
(9)	Representatives of Labour, one for each province.....	4
(10)	Representatives of County Councils, two for each province	8
		<hr/> 64

On the disappearance of any nominated element in the House of Commons, an addition shall be made to the numbers of the Senate. Section carried by 48 votes to 19.

X. CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(1) The ordinary elected members of the House of Commons shall number 160.

(2) The University of Dublin, the University of Belfast, and the National University shall each return two members. The graduates of each University shall form the constituency.

(3) Special representation shall be given to urban and industrial areas by grouping the smaller towns and applying to them a lower electoral quota than that applicable to the rest of the country.

(4) The principle of Proportional Representation, with the single transferable vote, shall be observed wherever a constituency returns three or more members. Sub-section carried by 47 votes to 22.

(5) *The Convention accept the principle that forty per cent of the membership of the House of Commons shall be guaranteed to Unionists. In pursuance of this, they suggest that, for a period, there shall be summoned to the Irish House of Commons twenty members nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, with a view to the due representation of interests not otherwise adequately represented in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, and that twenty additional members shall be elected by Ulster constituencies, to represent commercial, industrial and agricultural interests.*

(6) The Lord Lieutenant's power of nomination shall be exercised subject to any instructions that may be given by His Majesty, the King.

(7) The nominated members shall disappear in whole or in part after fifteen years, and not earlier.

(8) *The extra representation in Ulster not to cease, except on an adverse decision by a three-fourths majority of both Houses sitting together.*

(9) The House of Commons shall continue for five years, unless previously dissolved.

(10) Nominated members shall vacate their seats on a dissolution but shall not be eligible for renomination. Any vacancy among the nominated members shall be filled by nomination. Section carried by 45 votes to 20.

XI. MONEY BILLS.

(1) Money bills to originate only in the House of Commons, and not to be amended by the Senate.

(2) The Senate is, however, to have power to bring about a joint sitting over money bills in the same session of Parliament.

(3) The Senate to have power to suggest amendments, which the House of Commons may accept or reject as it pleases. Section carried by 45 votes to 21.

XII. DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN HOUSES. Disagreements between the two Houses to be solved by joint sittings as set out in Act, with the proviso that if the Senate fail to pass a money bill such joint sitting shall be held in the same session of Parliament. Section carried by 45 votes to 21.

XIII. REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER.

(1) Representation in Parliament of the United Kingdom to continue. Irish representatives to have the right of deliberating and voting on all matters.

(2) Forty-two Irish representatives shall be elected to the Commons House of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the following manner:

A Panel shall be formed in each of the four Provinces of Ireland, consisting of the members for that Province in the Irish House of Commons, and one other Panel shall be formed consisting of members nominated to the Irish House of Commons. The number of representatives to be elected to the Commons House of the Imperial Parliament shall be proportionate to the numbers of each Panel and the election shall be on the principle of proportional representation. Sub-section carried by 42 votes to 24.

(3) The Irish representation in the House of Lords shall continue as at present unless and until that Chamber be remodelled, when the matter shall be reconsidered by the Imperial and Irish Parliaments. Section carried by 44 votes to 21.

XIV. FINANCE.

(1) An Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund to be established and an Irish Controller and Auditor-General to be appointed as set out in Act.

(2) If necessary, it should be declared that all taxes at present leviable in Ireland should continue to be levied and collected until the Irish Parliament otherwise decides.

(3) The necessary adjustments of revenue as between Great Britain and Ireland during the transition period should be made. Section carried by 51 votes to 18.

XV. FINANCIAL POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

(1) The control of Customs and Excise by an Irish Parliament is to be postponed for further consideration until after the war, provided that the question of such control shall be considered and decided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom within seven years after the conclusion of peace. For the purpose of deciding in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the question of the future control of the Irish Customs and Excise, a number of Irish representatives proportioned to the population of Ireland shall be called to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Sub-section carried by 38 votes to 34.

(2) On the creation of an Irish Parliament, and until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish Customs and Excise services shall have been decided, the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom shall include a person or persons nominated by the Irish Treasury. Sub-section carried by 39 votes to 33.

(3) A Joint Exchequer Board, consisting of two members nominated by the Imperial Treasury, and two members nominated by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by the King, shall be set up to secure the determination of the true income of Ireland. Sub-section carried by 39 votes to 33.

(4) Until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish Customs and Excise services shall have been decided, the revenue due to Ireland from Customs and Excise, as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer. Sub-section carried by 38 votes to 30.

(5) All branches of taxation, other than Customs and Excise, shall be under the control of the Irish Parliament. Sub-section carried by 38 votes to 30.

XVI. IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION. The principle of such a contribution is approved. Section carried unanimously.

XVII. LAND PURCHASE. The convention accept the recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase. Section carried unanimously.

XVIII. JUDICIAL POWER. The following provisions of the Government of Ireland Act to be adopted:

- (a) Safeguarding position of existing Irish Judges.
- (b) Leaving appointment of future judges to the Irish Government and their removal to the Crown on address from both Houses of Parliament.
- (c) Transferring appeals from the House of Lords to the Judicial Committee, strengthened by Irish Judges.
- (d) Extending right of appeal to this Court.
- (e) Provision as to reference of questions of validity to Judicial Committee.

The Lord Chancellor is not to be a political officer. Section carried by 43 votes to 17.

XIX. LORD LIEUTENANT. The Lord Lieutenant is not to be a political officer. He shall hold office for six years, and neither he nor the Lords Justices shall be subject to any religious disqualification. His salary shall be sufficient to throw the post open to men of moderate means. Section carried by 43 votes to 17.

XX. CIVIL SERVICE.

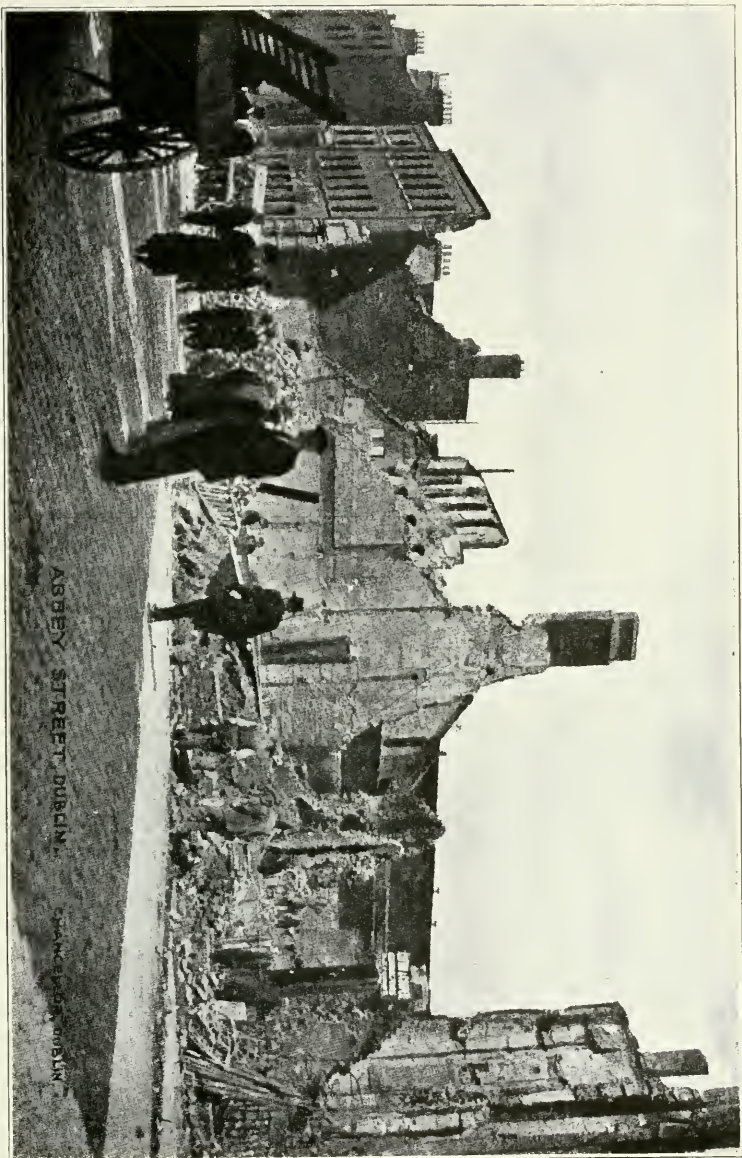
(1) There shall be a Civil Service Commission consisting of representatives of Irish Universities which shall formulate a scheme of competitive examinations for admission to the public service, including statutory administrative bodies, and no person shall be admitted to such service unless he holds the certificate of the Civil Service Commission.

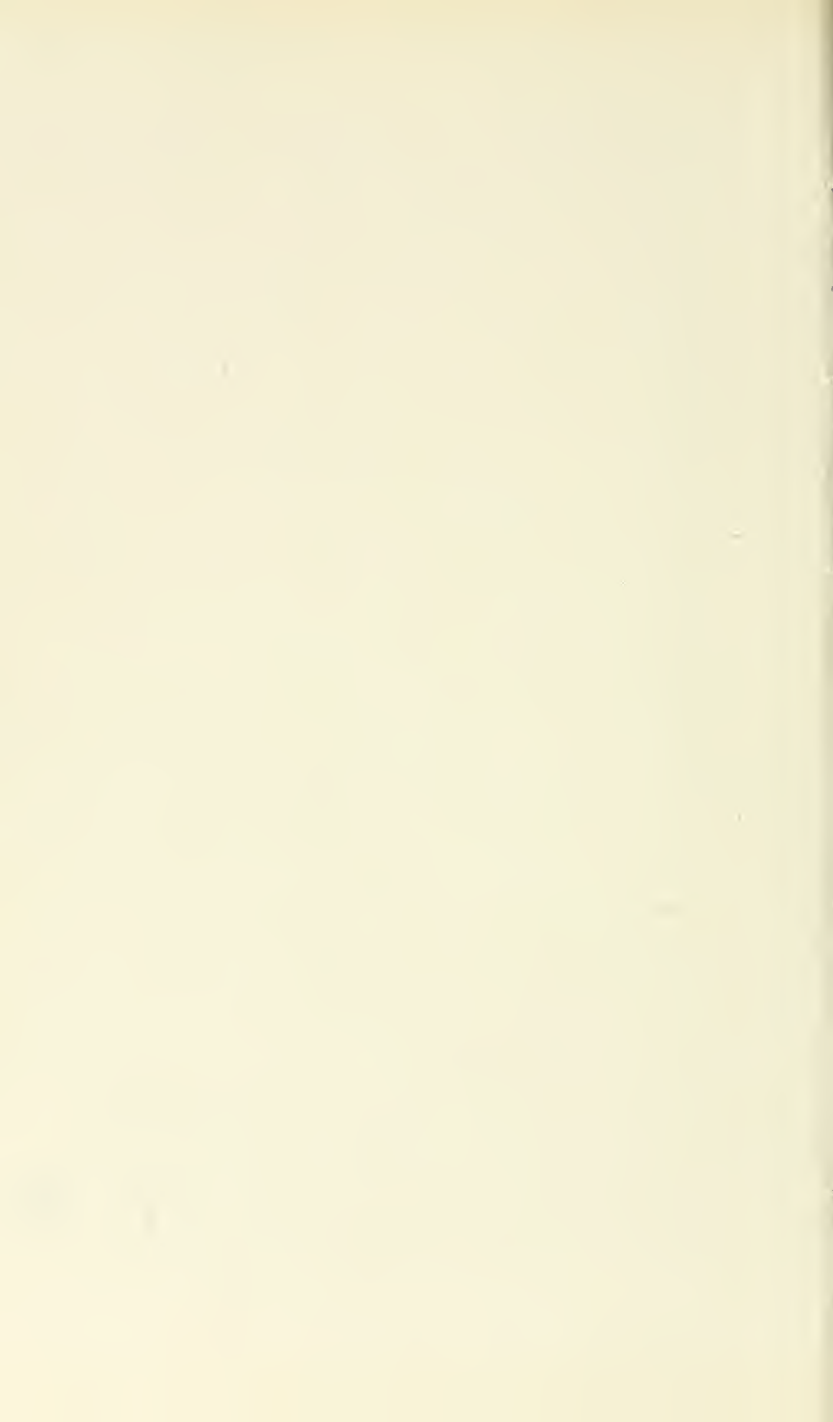
(2) A scheme of appointments in the public service, with recommendations as to scales of salary for the same, shall be prepared by a Commission consisting of an independent Chairman of outstanding position in Irish public life, and two colleagues, one of whom shall represent Unionist interests.

(3) No appointments to positions shall be made before the scheme of this Commission has been approved. Section carried by 42 votes to 18.

XXI. DEFERRING TAKING OVER CERTAIN IRISH SERVICES. Arrangements to be made to permit the Irish Government, if they so desire, to defer taking over the service relating to Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labour Exchanges, Post Office Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies. Section carried by 43 votes to 18.

ABBEY STREET SUFFERED FROM BOTH GUN FIRE AND FLAMES
BEFORE THE RUINS WERE PARTLY CLEARED THE "YPRES" OF





CHAPTER XIX

THE QUID OBSCURUM OF STATESMEN

THERE seemed now a reasonable expectation that the English government would immediately proceed to ask Parliament to pass the necessary enabling legislation in conformity with the report of the convention. There was still some skepticism in Ireland among well-meaning persons who were in no wise classed as revolutionists. Many shook their heads and said they were fearful lest something would turn up to cheat Ireland out of self-government at the last minute. On the principle that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush many refused to get excited over the prospects. Others, however, were satisfied that under the promise of the Prime Minister and the government, and the self-evident fact that the convention had "substantially agreed," the required legislation would be forthcoming at once. So Ireland held out its hands for the loaf.

And behold! Out of a clear sky came the answer of the government to the convention: CONSCRIPTION!

It is difficult here again to indicate the revulsion of feeling that swept Ireland, particularly the South and West.

Bachelor's Walk was an incident. Easter Week was an episode. Conscription was an eclipse. Here was the national thing, the *res publica*, in black cap, with hands tied behind it, about to be swung on the gallows! Home Rule Ireland, viewing the horrible spectre, even felt the halter draw, and Home Rule Ireland came out of its somnambulism. The incredible was staring at them. The successive eras of English rule in Ireland now appeared to the real Irish in these stages:

- (1) Contempt.
- (2) Insolence.
- (3) Deceit.
- (4) Ridicule.

It was as if England, employing our American *patois*, had laughed heartily in Ireland's face, and ejaculated: "You poor fish! You didn't think we meant it, did you?"

This, then, was their disillusionment. It was to the real and the credulous Irish the shattering of the last, though always dreamy, hope that there still was integrity in British statecraft. The last spark of confidence was extinguished. It was the Omega! It was the end. It was the sin against the Holy Ghost!

CHAPTER XX

THE RECOIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

THE immediate effect of the conscription act was to unify all Ireland over night, except the main body of the Covenanters in the Northeast and a few scattered Unionists in the South, to fight the "blood tax."

Even in Ulster there was a temporary stiffening against the law. It was not until the Ulster leaders learned the government had backed down and would not enforce the act, it was openly asserted, that Covenanters came out strong for it. Had the government gone ahead impartially there were signs aplenty that even the Covenanters might have joined in large numbers with the Nationalists, which would have produced a situation somewhat analagous to 1798 when the Presbyterians joined with their Catholic brethren against British rule, for which many of them paid with their necks. As it was, there was a strong undercurrent in Ulster against the "blood tax" which did not recede until the government backed up. All the rest of Ireland came together with hardly a dissenting voice on the conscription issue.

There was not a faction line that was not obliterated. The Constitutional Nationalists, Independents, Sinn Feiners, Laborites, Irish Volunteers, and the hierarchy, merged into a solidarity not known in Ireland since Ireland had political parties. History does not disclose such a unanimity of purpose on the part of any people on what they conceived to be a fundamental of human rights.

It was as if the Republican party, the Democratic party, the Prohibition party, the Labor party, the Socialist party, the Anarchist party, and the I. W. W. of the United States had dropped all party differences and swung together for the defense of a common principle.

The people rose above all formulae, even above the church. Had not the Catholic hierarchy stood with the people in this hour the hierarchy would have been left to drift for itself, in large measure abandoned by the enraged masses. No political party in the South and West could have existed an hour had it temporized on this issue. Not in Ireland's history has there been a greater display of nationality—a clearer elevation of patriotic pride above every other human obligation. Patriotism became a holy thing. This was first; this determination to resist and de-

DE VALERA LEAVING THE MANSION HOUSE IN DUBLIN AFTER THE DECISION OF A.T.



fend. Every other human consideration was immaterial. The hierarchy, appraising the tremendous spirit of the hour, joined in, and when this was done, England had not a leg to stand on—except massacre! She was faced now by a practically united people, save the more intolerant Covenanters, and in every breast there was the spirit of Easter Week. It was that unanimity that Edmund Burke must have had in mind when he laid down the epigram that it is impossible to indict a whole nation! England had lost the good will of her Irish colonists probably forever.

It was the opinion of John Dillon, leader of the Constitutional Nationalists, so stated to the writer in Dublin at the time, that the British government was playing a deep game. He had the suspicion the purpose back of the conscription act was to so enrage the people that they would desert the Constitutional Nationalist party and align themselves with the Sinn Fein. The government thereby would be able to destroy Ireland in the eyes of the world, first, by wiping out the Nationalists, and second by encouraging a party (Sinn Fein) which the government believed (so Dillon held) would cause the whole world to lose interest in the Irish question. His first suspicion eventuated, namely, that the conscription act would aid the Sinn Fein movement. It is hardly probable, however, that he understood at that time the magnitude of the swing to Sinn Fein. Whatever the purpose of the government, all Home Rule Ireland, which was to become Independent Ireland in thought, resented the act as a profanation of their very souls.

England was now attempting, instead of conciliation, to assume a power over the bodies of the Irish people that it did not have the right to exercise in any of its dominions. It did not have the arbitrary right to impose conscription in Australia or Canada. Both these provinces were a law unto themselves in this respect. Australia, although it sent half a million of the most gallant fighters in the world war to Flanders and France, voted down conscription on two occasions, even at the very crisis of the war. Australia took the stand that while it was ready to fight for the preservation of the British Empire, no power on earth had the right to treat the people of Australia as conscripts. Canada, also, had the sole right to determine for itself the question of conscription. In other words, Ireland, which had been in philosophic rebellion against England through the centuries, was placed in a lower scale of coercion than even the self-governing colonies of the British government. This was the way it appeared to the Irish people. Not only did they consider it unjust and indefensible, but humiliating in the last degree.

To the eye-witness it was clearly apparent, instantly the conscription was threatened and later the leaders were deported on what they believed to be a trumped up charge, Ireland had accepted Sinn Féin over night. The election of December 14, 1918, was merely a ratification.

The anti-royalist leaders did not believe England was honestly seeking more soldiers for the king's army in the conscription move. They did believe that behind it was the purpose ultimately to complete the obliteration of Irish Nationality—to finish the job begun by King James in 1610.

The fear was that, by submitting to conscription, by permitting the remaining young men in the country to come under English military direction, and their removal from the homeland, Ireland's power of resistance would be reduced to such a state that the work of destruction could be carried out quickly and completely. They believed, whether for good reason, that the proposed conscription was another phase of the Ascendency program, and that, with the last of their youth in the army, probably to be killed in France, the Ulster royalists, who were now dominating in a marked degree the government at Westminster, could, with little opposition, overrun the island, drive the "wild Irish" from their homes and holdings, suppress the "papists," even as Cromwell had attempted, again desecrate their altars, put an end to religious freedom, revive the penal laws and in general leave nothing of importance in the island that did not bear the watermark of his majesty the king.

They believed this. The common people believed it. The mothers of the sons to be conscripted believed it. They were not thinking of the world war in a world sense or what it meant to the rest of the world. They considered it, if at all, as a family row between three royal cousins. As far as their vision went was Sir Edward Carson, the "evil genius" of Ireland, and his associates in the British Cabinet after they had forced the same Cabinet to recant not only its Home Rule pledge but the solemn enactment of the Imperial Parliament itself. They thought only of themselves, and the mothers said: "If my boy must die, he will die on my own doorstep."

England has no one to blame but herself for this opposition. It was the logical and inevitable result of centuries of hypocritical dealings with Ireland. Outside of the royalists there was not a man or woman or even child in all Ireland in April, 1918, who would have given a thruppence for any pledge the British government might have laid down, war or no war. There is not one such even now.

Moreover, there was not a physical or moral coward among



JOHN DILLON AND JOSEPH DEVLIN, LEADERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALIST PARTY, "SNAPPED" IN O'CONNELL STREET.

them. Not one feared death. Death in defense of the historic home of the Irish race meant for the adherents of St. Patrick and St. Columcille a through passport direct to the Great White Throne, avoiding even the transitional purification of purgatory; and, as for the anti-royalists among the Protestants, such a death would have been embraced with a smile and a transfiguration. There are no cowards in Ireland, Catholic or Protestant.

The rising of the passions of Republicans at this moment fashioned an impressive hour in the history of the human family. Despite the rumbling of armored trains, the whirr of bombing planes in the air, the ominous tread of many thousands of England's soldiers, with their bayonets glistening in the sunshine, despite artillery, despite menacing military supremacy on the part of the "de facto" government, the masses at least had determined that mere physical threats were inconsequential. The attempt to raise by conscription and train a raw army of 50,000 men in Ireland, when at the very moment the government had in Ireland upwards of 100,000 trained English soldiers, was on its face a subterfuge, the Irish leaders declared.

The conviction was firmly rooted that what England desired was not so much soldiers from Ireland, since it would require several months to fit them for service, as it was a direct challenge, at the most critical period of the war, of the right of Irishmen in Ireland to aspire to a free government. At that moment England, with her back to the wall, as Sir Douglas Haig pointed out in his famous dispatch in the Spring of 1918, was appealing to the United States to send over its young men in the greatest possible numbers before it was too late. At that very moment the United States was responding to the appeal, and, at the peak load of its endeavor, was transporting in the neighborhood of 250,000 American troops a month to British and French shores to make the world safe for democracy. There were millions of other American troops available, awaiting only transportation facilities. Half a dozen good-sized ships would have brought from America troops already in training to a greater number than was contemplated by the proposed conscription of Ireland. At the very moment, also, there still remained garrisoned in Ireland 100,000 trained British troops. The Irish leaders could not understand why, if England was in such desperate need of 50,000 more men in France, it did not immediately utilize its trained soldiers in Ireland, particularly since it was well-known by the English government that conscription could not be enforced in Ireland, short of a massacre, and that even then 50,000 conscripts would not be available.

It should always be borne in mind in contemplating this phase of the trouble that Ireland already had given upward of 200,000 volunteers, a great percentage of whom were Roman Catholics, for the defense of the Empire. Ireland's contribution to the world war by the volunteer route was approximately five per cent of its entire population, and about fifty per cent of its adult manhood, twice the number per population sent to France by the United States. Besides, Ireland was the pantry that maintained England's morale at several critical periods of impending and desperate food shortages. Moreover, conscription would not have brought in many men from the heart of Ulster, as these men were essential to the maintenance of the great ship-building plants and the manufacture of aeroplane cloth in Belfast. Conscription would have fallen heavily on the rural districts, already suffering from a shortage of farm labor. To take the boys from the farms while leaving the young men of Belfast in the shipyards and in the linen industry was an aspect of the controversy that further embittered the South and the West.

It was the contention of the British government that its large trained army in Ireland was necessary to suppress threatened rebellion that might seriously involve the war efficiency of Great Britain. It is conceivable that British statesmen honestly believed so large a force was necessary to insure the peace of Ireland, but assuredly this opinion was not entertained by equally reputable statesmen who were conversant with actual conditions in Ireland at the time. It may be a very bold statement, but nevertheless it is made with absolute conviction, that England could have removed 50,000 trained troops from Ireland and sent them to France where they were so sorely needed, without jeopardizing British interests. This was so obvious to the Republican leaders and to the Irish people generally, always excepting the royalists in the North, that they did not hesitate to declare the proposed conscription a subterfuge and a blood tax, and, because they so believed, with seven hundred years of wrongs and rebel traditions flaming in their hearts, hundreds of thousands of Irishmen of all classes and all religious creeds were attracted to the Sinn Féin movement. As is invariably the case, where a stronger nation assumes the right of imposing its will upon a weaker nation by the practice of what the weaker nation conceives to be duplicity, the passions and the hatreds of the populace exceed in intensity the surgings of an outraged state conscience under most any other form of goad. To the Irish character, to be tricked into a state of impotency is much more humiliating than being slaughtered. So it was that the Irish leaders termed conscription the cap sheaf

of long centuries of hypocrisy and double-dealing on the part of Great Britain. These were the same Irish people who, in 1914, rushed to the colors almost to a man, to avenge Belgium, to save France, and even the British Empire itself. These were the same Irish people to whom Sir Edward Gray enthusiastically referred in the halls of Parliament, soon after the breaking out of the world war, when he said that Ireland was the one bright spot in the British Empire.

By what strange devices was this great fighting people changed from enthusiastic allies to implacable foes in the course of three and one-half years, and years in which the historic blood of the Irish was boiling for the fray in support of the principles enunciated so candidly by President Wilson when he said that the war was being prosecuted that men everywhere might choose their way of obedience and conscience? What incomparable blunders had been made we have already seen. We shall encounter more.

CHAPTER XXI

MOBILIZING FOR RESISTANCE

ON Thursday, April 19, Ireland spoke. It was at the conference of the representatives of all political parties, save the Unionists, held in the Mansion House in Dublin. The Nationalists were represented by John Dillon and Joseph Devlin. Michael Eaton of Corton, William O'Brien of Dublin, and Thomas Johnson of Belfast spoke for the Labor interests. De Valera and Arthur Griffiths represented Sinn Féin, and the Independent Nationalists were represented by William O'Brien, M. P., and T. M. Healy, K. C., M. P.

Crowds thronged the streets and gathered in a suffocating mass before the Mansion House. The atmosphere was charged with electric current. The crowds vaguely understood that another crisis had come and that inside the historic building the destiny of Ireland was again being shaped. Thousands of badges were displayed bearing the defiance: "Conscription—Not Damned Likely." At the conclusion of the conference, when De Valera walked down the steps, he was caught in the surging mass and hailed as Ireland's deliverer. A moment later John Dillon and Joseph Devlin appeared, and the great crowd, many of whom would have jeered from party reasons ten days before, also burst into a tremendous roar of "Up Dillon!" and "Up Devlin!" Thousands followed De Valera to the depot where he was to take his train for Greystones. Once having seen him safely off, they again rushed back to O'Connell Street and cheered Dillon and Devlin to their hotel. The flood of humans spread out into lower O'Connell Street, across the bridge that is wider than it is long, past the ruins of the Easter rebellion and the granite shell of the general post office, and, like a great tidal wave, crashed against the Nelson pillar and pirouetted up under the bronze arms of Charles Stewart Parnell. The noise was like the crash of a thunderstorm. They cried, yelled and shrieked. The writer was an eye-witness of this scene.

The populace had not taken the trouble to inquire what had transpired in the Mansion House. They seemed to have taken it for granted that whatever was done was the right thing. What had actually transpired was the unanimous agreement to pledge



LAURENCE O'NEILL

DUBLIN'S LORD MAYOR WHO HASN'T AN ENEMY AMONG IRELAND'S
IRISH ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

172

all liberty-loving Ireland to the following manifesto:

"Denying the right of the British government to enforce compulsory service in this country, we pledge ourselves solemnly to one another to resist conscription by the most effective means at our disposal."

Earlier in the day, representatives of all the political factions, except the Unionists, had proceeded to Maynooth, where they had laid their determination before the bishops and had invited them to participate in the amalgamation of the entire Irish people in Ireland, save those that were still wedded to the king. The bishops accepted the proposal, not as ecclesiastics in the first instance, but as Irishmen dealing with Irish nationality.

Immediately steps were taken to organize the country for resistance. It was decided to raise a fund by popular subscription to defray the expenses of organization work in all the provinces. This "organization" work, also, was to include later the procuring of food supplies for the young men "on the run" who were to take to the hills on the approach of the English soldiers in search of conscripts. On Friday, the 19th, at a second meeting of the general defense committee at the Mansion House, it was decided to prepare a statement to be issued to the world, setting forth Ireland's attitude on conscription, and also to send the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Laurence O'Neill, to the United States to lay the Irish claims before President Wilson. The O'Neill trip subsequently was abandoned when the British Government refused to afford him passage to America unless he first submitted to the British Foreign Office all documents that he proposed to carry to the United States. This, O'Neill refused to do on the ground that it was further denying the inalienable right of a representative of the Irish people to be heard at the world court.

At the same time arrangements were made for the subscribing to the pledge to resist on the following Sunday. This was carried out principally through the churches. Meanwhile, all civic, labor and religious societies in Ireland, excepting the Unionists, mobilized their forces for a display of the unanimity that existed. Among these was the organization of the Protestants who desired to enter a protest against conscription. It was in charge of Miss Nellie O'Brien, 11 Hume Street, Dublin. This organization drew up the following form of protest which was circulated for signatures: "We, the undersigned, wish to join our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen in protesting in the strongest manner possible against the application of con-

scription to Ireland. We believe that, to force any people to act contrary to their will and conscience is a violation of the law of God, and cannot but be productive of the gravest and most disastrous moral, religious and material consequences."

Perhaps the most significant single movement of this time was that of the organized labor forces of Ireland. At a meeting of their executive committee, they called upon all workers in the whole island to make their protest against conscription conspicuous by "downing tools" on the following Tuesday. So complete was this cessation of activities that only one railroad line in Ireland, outside of Ulster, and the military trains, turned a wheel. Practically all industry in Ireland was at a standstill. Even the newspaper offices in the South and West were closed. Newsboys refused to work, and not a newspaper was to be had in Ireland's capital that day. Not a tramcar ran in Dublin. The significance of this unanimity on the part of the laboring forces, outside of Belfast, was that, if conscription was persisted in, the British government would be forced to transport foodstuffs out of Ireland by the utilization of the military forces, and at a time when England was facing a desperate food shortage. Of historical interest, as indicating the attitude of the workers of Ireland, was their formal statement issued at the conclusion of an all-labor convention on Saturday, April 20th. This declaration of principles was as follows:

"That this convention of Irish labour movement, representing all sections and provinces of Ireland, pledge ourselves and those whom we represent, that we will not have conscription; that we shall resist it in every way that to us seems feasible; that we claim the right of liberty to decide as units for ourselves, and as a nation for itself; that we place before our brothers in the labour movement all the world over our claims for independent status as a nation in the international movement, and the right of self-determination as a nation as to what action or actions our people should take on questions of political or economic issues. That, in view of the great claims on the resources of the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, we hereby call upon the bodies represented here to forward subscriptions for the purpose of enabling them to carry out their campaign against conscription and pledge ourselves to make it a success. That this convention calls upon the workers of Ireland to abstain from work on Tuesday next, April 23.

"(1st) As a demonstration of fealty to the cause of labour and Ireland;

"(2nd) As a sign of their resolve to resist the application of

the conscription act; and

"(3rd) For the purpose of enabling every man and woman to sign the pledge of resistance against conscription.

"Believing that our success in resisting the imposition of conscription will be a signal to the workers of all countries, we call upon all lovers of liberty everywhere to give assistance in this impending struggle."

The political parties immediately sent instructions to all parts of the island to hold public meetings of protest. The first meetings were held on the following Sunday, the people coming by the thousands, even to remote villages, to join in the protest. The meeting at Cork was attended by the largest gathering in the city's history.

Even through the North, in the counties of Ulster, tremendous gatherings were reported, and while the speeches were bitter and, to a degree, inflammable, the populace was at all times warned to keep its temper and to await further instructions from Dublin as to what course they should pursue.

I made a hurried trip to the counties of Fermanagh, Cavan, Monaghan, Armagh, Louth and Meath. Subsequently, the inquiry was extended to the counties farther South. I found in town and county, newspaper men, Parliamentarians, Sinn Feiners, priests, Protestants, farmers, merchants, statesmen, politicians, educators, authors, and poets standing on the same platform. They were of one mind, and declared they were ready to die in resisting the "blood tax." Fear of physical pain and death did not exist.

The Constitutional Nationalists had summoned the members home from Westminster and quickly decided to continue their abstention from Parliament so long as a threat of conscription remained. The bar of Dublin threw its weight in against conscription and issued the following statement:

"We, the undersigned, of his majesty's counsel in Ireland, hereby approve and adopt the declaration against the proposal to impose conscription on Ireland against the will of the Irish people." It was signed by A. M. Sullivan, George MacSweeney, M. C. MacInerney, Patrick Lynch, Thomas S. McCann, William Carrigan, John McDonigal, E. J. McEllicott, R. J. Kelly, D. J. O'Brien, M. J. Kenny, Michael Comyn, William McGrath, Timothy Sullivan, Thomas J. Campbell and Henry McDermott.

The signing of the pledge on Sunday, April 21, was likened to the spirit manifested in Ireland in the days of O'Connell.

Even in Belfast, the king was openly defied. Outside of St. Peter's a crowd of 8,000 assembled. The church bells chimed

"The Memory of the Dead." A Republican flag was displayed and the gathering chorused: "Who fears to speak of Easter Week?" The flag evoked loud applause, which rose higher as they sang the "Soldier's Song."

Joseph Devlin, the idol of the Constitutional Nationalist forces, in a revolutionary address unleashed the passions of hatred against the government's course.

"All Ireland," he said, with great vehemence, "regards this act as a declaration of war on Ireland. And never did England throw down the gauntlet to Ireland, and declare war upon Ireland, but Ireland—Ireland powerful, Ireland united, Ireland inspired by high moral and spiritual ideals—Ireland indestructible, and Ireland irresistible—took it up. There is no nation in the world that has a right to conscript another nation, and Ireland—Ireland is a greater nation than England—greater in its civilization—greater in its ideals—more inspiring in its spirituality—more ancient, more and more impressive than any other European nation—it is not in the spirit of poltroons and cowards that it declines to obey England's behest! Whatever we will do, we will do ourselves, and by ourselves alone and by that principle we shall rise or fall. The Irish nation stands together today. It cannot fail nor fall. The blessings which Providence has bestowed today upon her strong arms and Irish hearts will inspire your leaders, both local and national, to guide Ireland through the thorny paths over which she will have to tread in the coming months."

A reference by the speaker to the "Men of Easter Week" was cheered. The pledge was publicly administered, first in English and then in Irish. "The Irish pledge was Ireland's answer," said Father Healy, "to Mr. Lloyd George, who had said that few people in Ireland spoke Irish." After the taking of the pledge, the crowd, bareheaded, sang the "Soldier's Song." Throughout the day at the various chapel gates in Belfast similar meetings were held, by way of indicating that in the very heart of royalist Ireland there was formidable opposition to the government's course.

More dramatic were the demonstrations in Londonderry, in the very city that immortalized itself in defending the siege by King James II and his Catholic supporters. A press report furnishes the following account of the ceremony:

"Immediately after the celebration of each mass the congregations assembled in the churchyard, and all those over seventeen years took the pledge, in the presence of a clergyman. The pledge was recited in first instance by a clergyman and repeated



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LORD FRENCH

WHO WAS SENT TO IRELAND, AFTER HIS CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE AND FLANDERS, TO ENFORCE CONSCRIPTION—BUT DIDN'T. HE SIGNED HIS NAME TO THE THIRD "GERMAN PLOT" CHARGE.

by the kneeling audience, after which those pledging themselves filed past tables where they affixed their signatures to a form of covenant. The proceedings, which were of a solemn character, produced a marked impression upon those taking part, and this was increased by some weighty advice from the clergy, who at each service advised their hearers to be patient, and to give no provocation or cause for complaint to those representing the authorities. Soldiers from one of the regiments stationed in the city attended a special mass at one of the churches."

At Omaugh there was a steady stream of visitors to St. Patrick's Hill and the Sinn Fein premises in High Street where the pledge was signed. At Strabane, another large demonstration was held, and throughout North Tyrone and East Donegal, the people flocked to the churches and party headquarters by the thousands to put their names on the list. At an impressive service in the Cathedral at Cavan "God Save Ireland" was played on the organ, and Reverend Father H. P. Brady, after administering the pledge in the churchyard, said:

"May God keep you and bless Ireland." This was cheered by the throng. Some 4,000 gathered at Abbey Yard, Newry, for the pledge-taking. Mr. D. Sheridan, representing the Newry Trade Council, was one of the speakers. His closing shot was: "We are about to be enslaved by the greatest band of hyocrites the world has ever seen--the British Government." An untoward incident occurred at the morning service in the cathedral which caused some excitement. When the announcement was made of the anti-conscription meeting to be held later in the day, an officer in charge of a party of Royal Irish Rifles, who were attending the Mass, arose and directed his men to leave the church, which they did forthwith.

In Dublin a profound solemnity was observable as the thousands of men, women and children, young and old, took the solemn vow. One of the largest demonstrations was at Bamba Hall, Parnell Square. In Rathmines signatures were received on the steps of the Catholic church, where were displayed large posters, announcing: "We won't have conscription!" The Statue of Parnell (the Protestant), at the northern end of O'Connell Street, was pressed into service. To Parnell's uplifted right hand was attached a green and gold flag tied with ribbons of the Republican colors, while to the other hand was attached a placard bearing the words: "No Conscription!" In Dundalk, Reverend James McKeene, at the conclusion of the taking of the pledge, said: "It (the pledge) is a thing that gives every Irishman joy. Lloyd George has been called a wizard, and he has performed a miracle

with his wizard's wand. That miracle was uniting the people of this country together to fight his policy." One of the most impressive meetings was in the churchyard of St. Macartan's Cathedral at Monaghan. Mr. James C. R. Lardner, M. P. (North Monaghan), said this was the most serious menace that had ever attacked the nationhood and manhood of Ireland, and it behooved every man to stand together until they had "fought and smashed this attempt to impose conscription." It was a historic day for Ireland, he added, when the "priests and people stood united," and their message would go out to all the world. He counseled them to pay no heed to rumors, as this was a solemn thing, involving their property, their freedom and their faith. In County Down, another Covenanters' stronghold, many large meetings were held, the more important gatherings taking place at Newcastle, Castlewellan, Kilcoo, Leitrim, Maybridge and Ballymartin. At Armagh the pledge was signed in the Cathedral grounds. Large meetings were reported in the counties of Mayo, Sligo, Longford, Meath, Kings, Queen's, Kildare, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Waterford, Wicklow and Wexford.

The Nationalist Parliamentary party, from the headquarters at 39 Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin, immediately announced its full allegiance to the anti-conscription cause. Under the direction of Mr. Dillon the party's attitude was set out in the following resolution:

"That, in the present crisis, we are of the opinion that the highest and most immediate duty of the members of this party is to remain in Ireland, and actively co-operate with their constituents in opposing the enforcement of compulsory military service in Ireland;

"That the enforcement of compulsory military service on a nation without its assent constitutes one of the most brutal acts of tyranny and oppression that any government can be guilty of;

"That the present proposal of Mr. Lloyd George's government to enforce conscription in Ireland is an outrage and a gross violation of the national right of Ireland;

"That the history of the relations between the two countries, the ruin and decay in population from which Ireland has suffered under the domination of English governments, and the manner in which Ireland's generous offer at the outbreak of the war was treated by the British government and the British War Office, cruelly intensifies the shameless character of the present proposal, and that we pledge ourselves to use all the influence and power of the Irish Parliamentary representation to defeat any attempt to enforce conscription in this country, and to carry out

the decisions of the National Conference."

A somewhat disquieting disclosure, which was known to some of the government's agents, was the common gossip that plans were in the making to deprive England of any further food-stuffs in the event of conscription being persisted in. It was the suggestion that the farmers who were opposed to conscription set fire to their hay and grain in the fields, rather than see it transported to England. The same suggestion was made as to livestock. Whether it was a part of a well-worked out plan is not known to the writer, but one thing was quite certain, the state of the public mind was such that very few out of the entire Nationalist population in Ireland would have shrunk from facing death in refusing to submit to conscription.

The Nationalists, Sinn Fein and clerical press, in a fury, utterly disregarded the Defense of the Realm Act, and fired the people to a new degree of opposition. An editorial in the *Dublin Evening Telegraph* (Nationalist), of April 22, is a fair sample of the intensity of the spirit of opposition. It is as follows:

"In a spirit of calm but resolute determination, Ireland faces the future. The challenge thrown down by Lloyd George she unhesitatingly accepts with a full consciousness of all the grave possibilities it may involve. In every parish in Ireland, the people of Ireland met yesterday to declare with one united voice their unshaken purpose to insist that this small nation is entitled to and will maintain the same right in regard to conscription as is enjoyed by every free community within the ambit of the Empire. That is no extravagant or irrational or unconstitutional demand. Irishmen claim the same rights as Australians or Canadians or South Africans; they will be satisfied with nothing else. To submit to the demands of the Die-Hards, and their tool, Lloyd George, would be to acknowledge that this country was the mere province of England, a sort of grandiose British shire. Ireland never has been a British province, and never will be. She is a nation, self-centered, self-contained, marked out by nature itself as a distinct national entity. Her claim to freedom rests on that basic principle. To admit the right of any alien authority to enforce a blood tax would be to surrender everything for which our people have fought and sacrificed through all the centuries of blood and tears. Irishmen today will not, dare not, prove false to the proud traditions of the past, to the glorious legacy of nationhood, which has stood as a beacon light through the long dark night of oppression, encouraging and inspiring those who have fought the good fight, and handed down the flag of freedom from sire to son. Yesterday's national uprising was no mere theatrical

display, no futile ephemeral expression of a passing mood. It was a sacred and solemn consecration of our people to the national cause, and an acceptance in a spirit of supreme seriousness of individual responsibility for the carrying out of the national will. The Irish man and the Irish woman who signed the solemn league and covenant pledge themselves to stand by one another and share one another's sacrifices in the critical days that are ahead. All minor considerations are for the time being submerged. . . . That vow will be kept. The nation that pledged its word and proved false to it would be unworthy of freedom, and all that the successive British governments and successive British despots, from Cromwell to Castlereagh, and from Castlereagh to Lloyd George, failed to accomplish would have been brought about by our own treachery and pusillanimity. Ireland is in no mood to work her own dishonor. She is aflame with the sacred fire of a noble purpose, and against the determined will of her people, not even the powers of hell shall prevail. . . . If the British government wants peace in Ireland, is really anxious for recruits, and does not desire to stand in the dock at the Peace Conference, it should at once repeal the conscription act, give Ireland a full measure of Colonial Home Rule, and treat this country just as it treats Canada, Australia and South Africa. England may get through freedom what she will never secure by force."

CHAPTER XXII

SOME BALLADS OF THE CONSCRIPTION FIGHT

IRELAND, whether angered or rejoicing, always has expressed herself in song and done it well. The old ballads are known. The following are mostly the new ones that came spontaneously from the hearts of the people as they girded themselves for another fight to the death with the "alien" on the conscription issue. Many found their way to the newspapers unsigned. Some of them came from the "common people," and, while they may not measure up to the standard for "form" set by the extreme technicians, in spirit they strike a deep and resounding chord. The contempt in which England at that hour was held by the Irish Nationalists, and, withal, the sportsmanlike attitude toward an opponent which is characteristic of the Irish race, seemed to find a clear expression in these "jingles." Aside from their poetic aspect they are of value as disclosing what the feeling was in the very depths of the souls of real Irishmen in Ireland.

TO MISTER JOHN BULL

So, you've passed your little bill,
Johnny Bull.

Such a bitter little pill,
Johnny Bull.

We dislike the mere description
Of your panicky prescription,
So to hell with your conscription,
Johnny Bull.

There are pitchcaps to forget,
Johnny Bull.

(And you haven't got us yet),
Johnny Bull.

There are promises you've broken,
Lies you've written, lies you've spoken,
We'll remember them for token,
Johnny Bull.

Now, you've got your answer straight,
Johnny Bull.

Think! before it is too late,
Johnny Bull.

Enforce—your own damnation;
 Withdraw—for your salvation,
 But, remember, we're a Nation,
Johnny Bull.

TO MR. JINGO

You can make the price of whiskey one and fourpence,
 You can still exalt the tax upon the beer;
You can bleed us to the core or
Make the fullest use of D. O. R. A.
 But you can't conscript an Irish Volunteer.

You can ration us, and camouflage our tramcars,
 You can make our eggs and bacon very dear;
But you know from priest and parson,
And from dear Sir Edward Carson,
 That you can't conscript an Irish Volunteer.

You can bluff and you can bully, you can bluster,
 You've been doing it for many a long year;
But the Party and Sinn Féin, sir,
Will assure you once again, sir,
 That you can't conscript an Irish Volunteer.

From every town and village in the country,
 From Irishmen and women far and near,
You will get the self-same answer,
So remember if you can, sir,
 That you can't conscript an Irish Volunteer.

HISTORIC TUESDAY

(When the workers dozed tools.)

God bless ye, gallant Irishmen,
My heart and soul you thrill;
 Not all the armaments of Hell
Can crush the people's will.

Their voice is heard in trumpet tones
Above the shock of battle:
 "We will not to the slaughterhouse
Be driven like dumb cattle."

No vassals in the Empire's hall
Are Irishmen to be;

They will not barter or renounce
 Their claim to liberty.

Ah! workingmen of Ireland!
 Ye big-souled, sturdy men,
 This be your motto, one and all,
 "A nation once again."

Fling up the old flag high above
 Your grim, determined band;
 Who will defend, despite the cost,
 The honour of our land.

A NATION'S VOICE

A nation's voice, a nation's voice,
 Doth all the welkin fill
 In solemnness, in mightiness,
 As Sinai's thund'ring hill;
 A nation's voice, a people's wrath,
 When roused in righteous cause,
 Should daunt vain rulers in their course,
 And make oppressors pause.

A nation's voice, omnipotent,
 Is borne abroad today,
 Whose earnestness, whose sternness,
 No tyrants dare gainsay;
 A people's moral mandate,
 Just as Heaven's high decree,
 And moral right in manful fight,
 Shall set the people free.

A nation's right, a people's might
 Must ultimate prevail;
 'Gainst concrete phalanx, fraternized,
 No onslaught can avail;
 With lion hearts we'll brave the worst
 Our sleuthhound foes may frame,
 And from the patriotic strife emerge
 To shine in Freedom's flame.

TO LOYALISTS

Conscription is alone for slaves,
 But those who love a cause,

Should not wait to be rounded up
Or cail, shrink or pause.

The Empire needs assistance now,
Why can't ye loyal be,
And go forth freely in the cause
Of right and liberty?

Do ye not hear amidst the fray
The Empire's clarion call?
Is't cowardice that makes ye stay
Behind the Papists' wall?

Ye cannot hunt with hare and hounds,
If loyal, do not wait
Until the war is finished with,
And then commence to prate.

It's out upon the plains of France
The battle must be fought.
What's that I hear? "We'll only go
When forcibly we're brought."

Is this the badge of loyalty?
Ah! had ye faithful been
No man of ye of hardy frame
Within our streets were seen.

Ah! loyalists of Ireland,
When ye have all gone out,
It's time to sneer at Papists then,
And raise the bigots' shout.

COMRADES, ATTENTION!

All stand together,
Strive for kith and kin;
March along the new way
To the goal we mean to win.
The sacred cause of freedom
Let no man dare defame,
Our cause is "Right,"
Our foe is "Might,"



ARTHUR GRIFFITH AND DE VALERA "SNAPPED" IN DAWSON STREET
AS THEY CAME FROM THE MANSION HOUSE CONFERENCE.

Strive on and play the game.

Chorus:

Comrades, attention!
 There's force behind the banner,
 There's a clinch within the spanner,
 Now rally round your banner,
 It is the only way.
 The traitors, we don't heed them,
 The others, we don't need them,
 As we march along to freedom
 On Emancipation Day.

All stand together
 And strive for what is fair;
 The earth contains some good things still,
 We only want our share.
 Brighter days are dawning,
 The clouds will roll away,
 The past is dead
 So look ahead
 To Emancipation Day.

DESTINY

A clear-toned voice across the whole land thundered,
 Thrilled every soul and roused each valiant heart,
 And through the watches of the night resounded
 Vowing of men in every village mart.
 Warm, tender love within their eyes now glowing,
 Stern resolution in the lips closed tight,
 Flung towards the heavens waved the grand old banner,
 Wakening bright memories of many a stubborn fight.

On, on they passed, a rythm of their marching
 Dying away athwart a lonely sea;
 No song they sang, their souls were overflowing
 With the sweet nectar of dear liberty.
 They stepped together for the sake of Erin,
 Love in their hearts that nothing could withstand,
 Fearing no foe, on God alone relying,
 He would defend their stricken motherland.

I saw thee stand, my queen beloved, my mother,
 Strong in the justice of thy high emprise,

Love's golden glow illumining thy features,
 Hope flashing brightly in thy dear, dark eyes
 Old rancours buried in the past forever,
 Thy sons erect, united and unbought,
 Pledged before God to champion without flinching
 Those sacred rights for which their fathers fought.

"Child of my Heart," a voice spake low and gentle,
 "Since thou wert faithful to me on the cross,
 Scorning allurements of base, carnal pleasures,
 Vain, subtle glamour of false mundane dross;
 Because thou wert hated for My Name's sake, Eire,
 Mocked at and made to drink life's bitter gall,
 Thou shalt not feel the pang of dissolution,
 Nor lie beneath a stranger's cruel thrall.

"Great in the beauty of thy soul, dear Eire,
 Plunged for awhile in sorrow's purging fires,
 Thou shalt behold thy resurrection morn,
 The full fruition of thy just desires,
 As thou did'st pray with Me in dark Gethsemane,
 Receive for thy fealty perennial youth;
 And, for thy soul's strength in the coming conflict,
 Drink from the fountain of Eternal Truth."

ALL TOGETHER

Steady! Steady! All together!
 Young and old, who'er ye be;
 Brothers, sisters, vowed forever
 To defeat plutocracy.

Let the alien criticize us,
 Let him hug his wicked spleen;
 We have other, nobler duties,
 Children of a widowed queen.

Scorn the sowers of dark discord
 Who would fill our souls with hate,
 Love alone shall yet redeem us
 From our present servile state.

Why should brothers be divided
 At this most momentous hour?
 Know ye not that in our union

Lies our greatest, strongest power?

Hand of friendship for each brother,
 Whatsoe'er his creed may be,
 If he stands for Ireland's honour,
 For her rights and liberty.

Stern, erect and self-reliant,
 Let us press upon our way;
 Fling the old flag to the heavens,
 Let it float on high today.

Let it show to those who falter,
 Let it show to those who fear,
 That united we shall conquer,
 Make conscription disappear.

And when we have won the fight, boys,
 It is then we'll understand,
 What a brave, united people
 Can accomplish for their land.

MY MOTHER

They have stripped thee of thy garments, oh! my mother! oh, my queen!

They have clothed thee in tattered rags to satisfy their spleen.
 Thou wert to them as Lazarus, avoided, poor, disowned,
 The crumbs from Dives table were for thee, a queen dethroned.
 They have made thy name a byword 'mong the nations of the earth
 For misery and wretchedness, and ridiculed thy worth.
 They robbed thee of thy commerce and they exiled half thy sons,
 And now the small remainder they would hurl against the Huns.
 They have spat upon and scorned thee on the road to Calvary.
 They've placed a thorny crown on thy brow as badge of slavery.
 They have washed their hands, like Pilate, they were innocent of
 spite,

They only wished dear Eiro to be taken from their sight.
 To make the world believe thee false, "Away with her!" they say.
 "Crucify her—foe to freedom, who our cause would now betray."
 And thus they strive to blacken thy fair name, my peerless queen;
 They would filch from thee thine honour, my beloved Rosaleen.
 But truth and justice will prevail, for God reigns still on high.
 He hears the plea of contrite hearts, the weak ones' humble cry.
 And He who saved the Israelites from Pharaoh's bloody host

Will rescue and protect thee, though the mighty tyrant boast ;
 And He will make of thee, though weak, a lesson to the world,
 Who march along in serried ranks with hate's dark flag unfurled.
 He will make of them His footstool who would scorn to ask His
 aid,

And make of Him an alien in a world which He has made.
 Ah ! mother of the broken heart ! Dear widowed Rosaleen !
 Like unto thy dear Master, the insulted Nazarene.
 Decried by men, a failure, a fool who would not sell
 Thy soul for worldly greatness, to the crafty fiends of Hell.
 Wert thou not tempt, oh ! my love ! like thy sweet King before.
 "The world shall I bestow on thee if, bowing, thou'lt adore."
 But precious gift of constancy God did bequeathe to thee,
 When He beheld thy lustrous soul in dark Gethsemane,
 And as He chose poor fishermen, untutored, simple men,
 To be his first disciples, now He does the same again,
 And chooses thee, His faithful friend, to spread the light of
 Faith,

To be a bulwark to His Church, and make it strong and great.
 And from the ashes of a world reborn in Sorrow's womb,
 To rise in dazzling splendour, like thy Master from the tomb.

JACTA EST ALEA

Dear old Ireland, hapless Ireland,
 Thy sad travail is not o'er,
 Fell oppression's baneful shadow
 Hovers still above thy shore.
 Once again fate has decreed it,
 You'll be tried by fire and steel,
 And the things you cherish sacred
 Trampled 'neath the vandal's heel.

What though in the name of freedom
 They crush liberty and right,
 And invoke the God of Justice
 To uphold the creed of might,
 You must do your Master's bidding
 Serfs may never reason why.
 Minds are not for shackled bondslaves ;
 They have but to serve and die.
 Have they cowed thy martial courage
 That blazed forth on many a field ?
 Have they broken thy proud spirit,
 That was never known to yield ?

SCENE AT THE ANTI-CONSCRIPTION MEETING IN CORK—LISTENING TO THE "BELLS



No! you're still untamed, unvanquished,
Scorning every bribe and threat;
True to freedom though you perish,
Ireland's brave old Ireland yet.

You'll not bow in base submission;
Cringe beneath the tyrant's rod.
You will never yield to Moloch
The allegiance due to God.
No! Their edicts have no terror;
You will pay no helot's toll.
Though they crucify the body
They can't manacle the soul.

TO IRELAND IN THE HOUR OF TRIAL
Enough! to mourn the widowed years
Of Hope bereft and Freedom fled;
Enough! to check the scalding tears
For Erin's Noblest Heroes dead.
Hate winged its darts with demon skill,
Fate blindly spurned our prayers,—but yet
Pride thrills within our bosoms still
And Love forbids us to forget.

Across the azure of our sky
Clouds ever rise at morning-break,
Shrouding with night the noonday high,
Wrapping at eve our pathway bleak,
But rays still pierce the direst gloom,
Like angel shafts from heaven sped,
And by their light on Manhood's tomb
We read th' evangel of our Dead.

“Fight on!” thy Calvary is long,
And tortuous each stage may seem
Tho' bitter be the slings of wrong
Nought but a cross can man redeem!
Bruised feet, racked limbs and aching heart,
But chasten flesh—the soul within
Mounts ever. Victim as thou art
Thoul't triumph yet o'er wrath and sin.

The pains of parting—famine curst—
'Mid plenteous fields, o'er flowing store,

Forced anguished tears from eyes to start
 That flash defiance as of yore.
 The throes of failure fortify—
 As cleansing fires temper steel—
 Penance must passion mortify,
 And danger try the brave and leal.

Thy passion and thy penitence,
 Thy blood and tears—a sacrifice
 Have been to God's omniscience—
 He will accept thy bitter price.
 The sin, the death, the pain foretold
 The wrath to which all men are born—
 They tremble—but the stone unrolled
 Back from the tomb on Easter morn!

Then raise, oh! sorrowing Mother Queen,
 To heaven thine eyes, beyond the veil,
 Of boding doom—there Sufferer glean
 This token—"God and Right prevail!"
 And Peace returns and Faith is crowned,
 And Justice triumphs over Might.
 Travail is proof of Love profound
 And Patriot zeal's the sword of Right.

Then fear no parting then beseems
 The brave who love thee more than life;
 Thou, whose proud radiance lights their dreams,
 And stirs their souls in mirth or strife.
 No more the lure of golden stores
 Shall tempt them from thee, Mother lorn!
 To thee within thy emerald shores
 Their love and blood and lives are sworn.

AN ORANGE ACROSTIC

(A "No Popery" Jingle of 100 years ago.)

The following electioneering pasquinade, used on behalf of the Orange candidate, Thomas Ellis, Master in Chancery, against Henry Grattan, son of the famous patriot, who was a candidate in 1820 for the representation of the City of Dublin, rendered vacant by the death of his illustrious father, is of interest at this time:

LET not false mercy aid seditious cause,
 A rebel never will submit to laws.

PAPIST and loyal! Answer me this thing
 HAVE serpents gratitude? Have asps no sting?
 SWAY is his aim and power without control,
 AND persecution fires his bigot soul.
 HIS thoughts by treacherous actions are disclosed;
 KING laws and government—all these are opposed.
 HE'LL say, I'm loyal, and within an hour,
 BETRAY a country to a hostile power.
 BIND him with oaths! Oaths have no power to bind
 HIM whom a priest is sovereign of his mind.
 FAST bound in bigot seal, his jaundiced eyes
 IN every foe a heretic describes.
 A fixed aversion and determined hate,
 CHAIN, fire or halter heretics await.
 HE can first swear, forswears, then is absolved—
 IS to be trusted only when involved
 FAITHFUL when seeking Protestant damnation
 AGAIN to rise up—Transubstantiation.

THE PRIME MINISTER

Lloyd George, you have awakened
 Dark memories of pain,
 Of Cromwell and of Inchiquin,
 And thousands cruelly slain.

Of famine and of pestilence,
 When millions starved to death.
 Ah! while you perpetuate the wrong
 These things we won't forget.

We now have pledged our solemn oath
 To stand as brothers ever.
 Then hear our answer, loud and clear,
 "Conscription—Never—Never!"

CHAPTER XXIII

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT, chairman of the Irish Convention of 1917-1918, has all the instincts of a Unionist, but the education of a Home Ruler. At one time he was a Unionist member of the English Parliament. He was not and is not a Catholic. He is not now for Sinn Fein. He is endeavoring to organize the moderatists, or the middle-of-the-roaders, for a settlement somewhere between Home Rule and the Federal system. Sir Horace's opinion, therefore, could not be attributed to Papal leanings. It was natural that one of the first responsible spokesmen in Ireland to whom we should turn for light was Sir Horace. I went to see him at his home at Foxrock. He handed me the following statement for my perusal, twenty-four hours before it was sent to the Associated Press for world dissemination:

"At the gravest crisis with which the British Empire has ever been faced, the government have staked their existence on a two-fold Irish policy—conscription and Home Rule.

"They cannot achieve both. At the cost of much present bloodshed and lasting hate they might achieve the first, thereby making the second impossible. In my opinion, for what it is worth, they would fail in the attempt, leaving both undone. Their successors would then have to find a way out of the worst Irish situation in my memory.

"I would not write this, did I not believe that, even now, at the eleventh hour, it is not beyond the resources of statesmanship to achieve the double purpose the vast majority of both peoples have in view, which I believe could not only satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the Irish people at home, but also get them to follow voluntarily the immemorial instincts of their chivalrous race and the example of their kinsmen and sympathizers throughout the United States and the British Dominions.

"There is one, and one only, alternative to the disastrous policy upon which the Cabinet have embarked, and that is to set up at once a responsible government in Ireland. The report of the convention has shown that they could do this with the support of a large body of Irish Nationalists and Unionist opinion. They should pass through Parliament without delay the necessary legislation as a war measure.

"The present chaos, with its growing bitterness, its utter de-

moralization of our public life, and its discredit to British statesmanship, need not be continued while we are waiting for a Parliament. The moment the bill is passed, an Irish Executive, broadly representative and composed of responsible men who would not shirk the burden of their brief authority, should be appointed and given the task to setting up the Parliament as quickly as possible, of promoting voluntary recruiting, and generally carrying on.

"The Irish people given their own instrument of government, would quickly show the world what is their real attitude to this war. It may then dawn upon Englishmen that we have in Ireland no pro-Germans except those they have made, not of *malice prepense*, but through incapacity to understand us."

We passed the day going over the Irish situation, and it was finally agreed that I should reduce to writing our conversation, and submit the manuscript to Sir Horace for revision and approval, with a view to publishing it. This was done. The subjoined interview is here reproduced, as indicating the thought in the foremost minds in Ireland not in any way associated either with the Catholic hierarchy, or Sinn Fein. The interview follows:

"We are back in chaos," he said slowly. "The situation seems desperate. There is a way out, but whether it would be followed, who can tell? There is, I am satisfied, but one way, and that is Home Rule first, and voluntary recruiting afterward. No sane man, it seems to me, can view the conscription threat without the most alarming forebodings. Conceivably, it might be the rock on which the Empire could go down. Our statesmanship seems suddenly to have become bankrupt. The folly of this proposal must be apparent to many minds in England. Those who realize it feel diffident of asserting themselves, no doubt, lest they should add to the difficulties of prosecuting the war. Of course, English statesmen misunderstand us. It seems they always have and more so at present than ever before."

Sir Horace, in leading up to an explanation of why the opposition to conscription in certain quarters was so bitter, paused to suggest that nowhere was the opinion entertained that the objection sprang from cowardice.

"The Irish question," he went on, "just now is more than ever a psychological one, which makes it even more difficult for the outside world to understand us just at this moment of war distraction that prevails to the uttermost parts of the earth. I am quite satisfied that all our statesmen will agree now that the Irish question has been muddled more or less from the start of the war,

regardless of their present views as to how a settlement may be brought about.

"But for all this muddling, and notwithstanding the shelving of the Home Rule act at the beginning of the war, Irish boys volunteered in goodly numbers. They have given their lives in some of the most desperate fighting on the battlefields of Flanders, France and elsewhere. It won't do to try to make out that these volunteers represented one class only. They were Catholic and Protestant, perhaps a slight majority being Catholic. They were Home Rulers and Unionists. They represented all Ireland.

"It is not that Irishmen now are averse to fighting and dying. It is a question of their understanding why they should fight. Grant, for the sake of argument, that they may, at present, be acting unwisely from a world point of view in opposing conscription. The point seems to be that it is not an academic question any longer, but a condition of settled belief, and, with the growing bitterness everywhere, that belief is not susceptible to modification by argument or coercion.

"That part of Ireland that now is determined not to have conscription believes that the proposal means disaster to Ireland. So deep rooted is their distrust for Great Britain that some of them regard conscription as the beginning of a new plantation of the South. This attitude may seem hysterical, but it cannot be ignored, for it is a real and deep-rooted fear. This was the old distrust and there is no gainsaying the fact that, from whatever cause, this distrust has persisted in varying degree on the part of many for generations."

Sir Horace was not prepared to lay down a hard and fast rule and to say whether, in his opinion, that general distrust was justifiable. He went over the stirring events that marked Ulster's preparations for resistance, the drillings and gun-running, and then went into the reasons for shelving the Home Rule bill in 1914, which he justified.

"Like a bolt out of the blue," he said, "came this world war. For good reasons, and sound ones, a truce was declared, and all Ireland, forgetting their own troubles, plunged into the defense of the Empire. Still, many were skeptical. The I-told-you-so's of the old element nodded wisely. Something always was sure to come up that would stop Home Rule. This element, in their disappointment, may or may not altogether have attributed the shelving of Home Rule in 1914 to trickery rather than to the honest desire for self-preservation of all of us—Ireland as well as England. But many, no doubt, thought then that England did not intend at any time to grant self-government to Ireland.



SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

CHAIRMAN OF IRISH CONVENTION (1917-18) AND SEVERE CRITIC OF
BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR ITS ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE CONSCRIPTION
AFTER FAILING TO GRANT HOME RULE.

"For my part, I believe England was absolutely sincere at this point, and in no way ruled by sinister motives in dealing with the Home Rule situation. However, many believe, in the light of subsequent events, that had the government gone right ahead with the Home Rule act of 1914, we should have by this time a stable form of government in Ireland, and Ulster would have been convinced by actual experience that many of its fears were nightmares.

"But Home Rule was shelved—after it was a law and after a struggle of a hundred years. The old hatreds sprang into new life among the more intense, and what may be termed the idealistic, youth of Ireland. Sinn Fein had a new lease of life and Sinn Fein derived its nourishment from the belief that England hated Ireland, intended always to hold Ireland as a serf state and that some manner of trickery was at hand to defeat Irish self-government even when force was not necessary.

"For my part, I do not want to be understood as impugning at all the motives of statesmen in their disposition of the Irish question at the outbreak of the war. It seemed then a question of not whether Ireland should have self-government, but whether self-government should be left anywhere in the world. However, the young radicals of Ireland did hold the truce to be in the nature of trickery and double-dealing.

"The Easter rising, ill-advised and the act of desperate men, however sincere and patriotic they deemed themselves to be, was not entirely a surprise.

"That these forces should accept aid from Germany was not so much, it seems, because they admired Germany and German methods, as because they were ready to accept help from any source in what they believed to be a righteous effort to down England, or at least secure the Republic for Ireland. They did not look at the world problem, but confined their outlook, doubtless, to the one object of securing Ireland's independence and at a time when the great powers were so concerned with grave issues elsewhere that they would not be expected to pay much attention to Ireland.

"It was what Burke and Grattan prophesied in the eighteenth century—that, if Ireland were denied her free constitution, she would choose her day for a reckoning, the day of England's difficulty.

"Although the Sinn Fein revolt was not countenanced by a great mass of Irishmen, it had its effect in inspiring them to become more insistent in their demand for full self-government.

"It was necessary to employ the military forces of the Crown

to restore order and protect life and property. The presence of the military continued the psychological development. Here was the visible thing—England's soldiers—and the more volatile among us, though we are in the main an intensely practical people, saw in this demonstration of force the armed power from across the Irish sea that was in a position to enforce English domination. And they, furthermore, coupled it with what they wanted to believe—namely, that England always would find some way out of a difficulty that gave Ireland a hope of self-government. That is to say, Home Rule Ireland was more ready to accept this line of reasoning than any other. It fell on receptive minds. It was the imbedded thought of the people and easy to bring to the surface by any untoward event.

"Then we smouldered along, trying to do our best in the war, trying to give our strength to the Empire, as well as to the Allies, and the Irish soldiers continued to go into the front line trenches and to give their lives for what we conceive to be freedom of the world from military domination.

"America finally declared war on Germany. Your great President, with a remarkable foresight and a vision that has been little short of miraculous, knew his people better than any other mind, it now appears. He bided his time, but when he did call the United States to the colors, he had substantially a united people behind him, and the response of the United States, especially to fight four thousand miles away from home, is one of the great pages of history.

"Ireland—Home Rule Ireland particularly—naturally felt the thrill, for doubtless there has been a closer and more helpful extension of real sympathies between the United States and Ireland than between any other peoples, for a vast number of your leaders and some of your great presidents have come of Irish stock.

"Then came that extraordinary statement of what constitutes humane and justifiable government, when your President laid down the principle of self-determination and self-definition—the right of small and weak peoples to the unselfish protection of their more powerful neighbors—the right to liberty and the pursuits of happiness—the inherent right to self-government. The world war, he announced to the world, was to make the world safe for democracy, and to set up for the small nations, wherever such nations so desired, the protected right to be governed after their own wills, namely, that all just power is derived from the consent of the governed.

"Well, that statement fell on Home Rule Ireland like the fulfillment of all that freedom-loving Ireland had visioned for cen-

turies. Naturally it inspired our people and resulted in allaying the fears of many well-meaning patriots that Home Rule was a myth so long as England was powerful enough to prevent its consummation. Ireland for the moment—all Ireland—responded to the invitation to view the world war as an affair in which all freedom-loving peoples were concerned, and I say that despite the persistence of the more extreme of the Irish radicals.

“Those who still insisted that some way probably would be discovered to cheat Ireland out of Home Rule, even at the Peace Conference, were ready to lay aside prejudices for the moment and make another try at a settlement of our long-standing difficulties. In response to the general desire, both in America and in England, to settle the Irish question at once—in a measure at least—without waiting for the Peace Conference, Mr. Lloyd George addressed a letter to the late John Redmond, proposing immediate steps for bringing Home Rule to Ireland, on the basis either of a bill that would admit of the partition of Ireland and the setting of Ulster to one side, or a convention of all Irish interests in an effort to settle for themselves the form of government they would have.

“Mr. Redmond accepted the convention proposal. He firmly rejected the partition scheme. The history of the convention is known the world over. We got together. Every element in Irish life—political, religious, professional, social and labor, with the single exception of Sinn Fein, who refused to participate—endeavored by every effort that human beings could avail themselves of to work out the political salvation of Ireland.

“Unionist and Home Ruler came closer together than ever before. Catholic and Protestant prelates came to understand one another better. We found we were not so far apart after all. The Irish spirit flamed high, for hope had come to all of us. What had seemed almost irreconcilable differences in mental attitudes melted away in part.

“We were on the point of coming together as Irishmen, with the old prejudices in the background. While we did not agree unanimously, I am firmly of the opinion that a system of government set up in Ireland—even now—after the general terms of the majority report, will bring peace to this land, and that even Ulster can come in with safeguards that will insure protection of the essential things she treasures—both in commerce and religion—and that Ireland in the very act of establishing this self-government will respond, proportionately, to the appeal of the Allies, as wholeheartedly as any nation, large or small.

“Again, what happened? All Home Rule Ireland—inspired

by a spirit that has been in being for centuries and cannot be counted a mere passing whim—felt the relief and entertained the hope. The people waited for the process of parliamentary machinery to set them free within the Empire. Self-determination was all but an accomplished fact, and at the very moment when Germany was tearing up another scrap-of-paper in the Ukraine, Esthonia and Poland. It was the golden opportunity of the Allies to emphasize the sincerity of their professions, while the war still was on, in striking contrast to the military interpretation by Germany of no annexations and no indemnities.

“Then, out of another clear sky, without warning, and contrary to all expectations, there came the thunderbolt. The British government did bring in a bill—conscription for Ireland! I doubt if anything could be conceived more calculated to tear Ireland to pieces over night than this.

“It is psychological again. It is not that conscription is opposed because of cowardice. Immediately the Irish mind—Home-Rule Ireland—saw in the conscription rider the reaffirmation by England of the right of coercion of Ireland—the assumption of the right of a powerful nation to conscript a smaller nation, although legally that right might exist. It was not surprising that, in a day, there ensued an immediate amalgamation of hitherto bitter political opponents in Ireland and that all of Home Rule Ireland leaped to the one platform—resistance!

“It should always be borne in mind, in endeavoring to understand Ireland just now, that the psychological phase is all important—the reiteration by the majority of Irish people that Ireland is a nation in the souls of the people, and that the act of Union is not held to be binding on their conscience. That may be called by different names. Some may term it rebellion. Others see in such a spirit the purest expression of the demand of a people for self-government.

“A plebiscite, doubtless, which is the essence of self-determination as set forth by the Allies, would give a unanimous voice for Home Rule among the people who now stand solidly arrayed against conscription and challenge at once the whole power of Parliament to legislate against their wills. Whether by this attitude Home Rule Ireland becomes rebels and outlaws or high-minded patriots, is beside the question for the moment, since these people regard conscription as invoked by the desire further to depopulate Ireland, to sap Ireland of its remaining manhood to a point where resistance to any rule of England, however unjust they might deem it, would be utterly out of the question for generations.

"To these people, conscription is not conscription for man power in the war, but complete suppression, a final breaking of their wills, another trick by which they have been led up into the mountain only to be suddenly hurled farther back than before. The distrust entertained toward the British government is more pronounced just now probably than at any time in our history. Meantime, the alternate hot and cold policy pursued by those who appear incapable of entirely understanding us, has afforded the agency for the stirring of all the old prejudices of Ulster against us and has resulted in rearing between these two sections of our people the old adamant wall that had begun to crumble gradually in recent years, especially in our recent convention.

"Whether morally the Irish people—Home Rule Ireland—are right or wrong in their opposition to conscription, and opinions may well differ, we come to the reason for conscription—more soldiers and the winning of the war.

"Here, it seems to me, the government's contention collapses. The spirit of resistance now prevailing means that the government must carry on conscription by sheer force, which means the implanting of new and bitter hatreds that will continue through generations. It means more than that. It means that it probably will require as many trained soldiers to corral the conscripts as the number of conscripts ultimately corralled, assuming all availables could be rounded up.

"How does that contribute to the winning of the war, when we are at the supreme crisis? And how effective will be such unwilling conscripts? Should the estimated conscripts be secured, it would require some months to train them properly and fit them for service in the trenches. By that time the war may be over, or nearing the end, and in favor of the Allies, whereas the trained soldiers already sent to Ireland could be sent forthwith to France. If it be the net result we are looking to, then conscription for Ireland just at this hour would seem ill-advised. Whether that view be correct or not, the point is that conscription can be imposed only through force. Anyone thoroughly conversant with affairs in Ireland at present must view such an attempt with great sorrow.

"But I am still of the opinion that Ireland can yet take its place beside the Allies and do a big part, proportionately, in the present war. As everyone knows, you have a difficult task, when you seek to convince the Irish character by coercion, even when the object sought is good. That is why the Irish question bothers outsiders so much. They don't understand Irishmen in Ireland and they will not try to understand them.

"The same argument applies to Ulster. Outsiders do not understand Ulster, and you cannot coerce Ulster against her settled determination sooner than you can coerce Munster or Leinster or Connaught against their wills.

"Yet the Irish people will do and sacrifice for love and sympathy and fellowship as greatly as any peoples on the earth. Therefore, let Parliament proceed at once to lay the conscription proposal on the shelf and keep it there. Then set up an honest Home Rule government in Ireland, mindful of safeguards for Ulster to a reasonable degree, or the machinery by which the people of Ireland shall say what their government will be within certain fundamental prescriptions.

"Once do that, and the Irish people are convinced that there no longer exist ulterior motives behind proffers from the other side of the Irish sea, and I do not believe it possible to keep our Irish young men out of France. They certainly would join up to fight with the young Irishmen of England and America.

"We could impose, if it should be deemed advisable, some measure of registration of our manhood, provided it were done by an Irish Parliament, and under that registration we would be able more efficiently and scientifically to attend to all the needs of agriculture and the supplying of foodstuffs to our Allies, which will be of utmost importance in the coming months, and which may be more important than the question of any number of soldiers from Ireland. My judgment is we could furnish both soldiers and the maximum supply of foodstuffs. Soldiers secured from Ireland by this plan would be of the highest value.

"Because of the character of the Irish people and the history of Ireland, I should like to see the British government let us have our own way for a trial at least, in establishing self-government, and then the world could judge from our acts whether we were worthy of the claims set up for generations."



PRINCE OF WALES IN INVESTITURE ROBES

HE WAS SENT TO ROME TO PAY FRIENDLY RESPECTS TO THE POPE WHILE ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA WAS LAUNCHED AGAINST IRELAND BY GOVERNMENT LEADERS.

CHAPTER XXIV

"NO POPERY"

WHETHER the British government was responsible for projecting the "No Popery" issue into the already surcharged situation, it was so blamed by the Irish leaders, and had the effect of farther cumulating the holy hatred for all things British. What made the Irish resentment of this charge all the more vehement was the feeling that it was another piece of hypocrisy, and, whether hypocrisy or not, was descending, they believed, to the level of savage tribes, since in the midst of this campaign and while the propaganda was being spread broadcast through Protestant populations the world over, the British government sent the Prince of Wales forthwith to Rome to pay his official and friendly respects to the Pope.

Had it not been for this official visit of the Prince to the Vatican, Ireland might have accepted the religious issue raised by England with little concern, since, in the most effectual propaganda the government had thus far used in arousing hatred of the world toward Germany, namely, the story of bleeding Belgium, Cardinal Mercier had been so highly extolled. But to raise the "No Popery" issue for consumption in Protestant communities, thereby rekindling the fires of bigotry, and at the same time lending the impression to Catholics that they were with them by sending the Prince to Rome, had all the effect of confirming "free Ireland" in the opinion that opposed to their principles was not only bigotry, but continuing hypocrisy and cant.

The *London Times*, April 24, 1918, three days after the signing of the pledge that Ireland would resist conscription, thrust the "No Popery" issue into the controversy with the following editorial utterance, under the caption, "A Grave Responsibility:"

"It says much for the forbearance of the British people, and for their real abhorrence of religious animosities, that so little protest should have been made in public against the latest action of the Roman hierarchy in Ireland. Yet there is no misunderstanding the tremendous gravity of the issue which they seem bent on raising. It goes far deeper than any mere question of the expediency of enforcing military service on Irishmen, though this is its occasion.

"At bottom, it is nothing less than the old claim of a powerful religious organization to defy the law of the land in a matter

which is not even remotely religious. Last Thursday the Roman hierarchy met in conclave at Maynooth and adopted a statement which virtually placed them at the head of the anti-conscription movement. They have already, therefore, given to that movement a great and inevitable stimulus. Individual bishops have since done something to recommend that it should be carried on without bloodshed, and it is arguable perhaps that their policy was deliberately adopted in order to keep the forces of rebellion under discipline. But their responsibilities are incalculably serious henceforth, as our Dublin correspondent has pointed out, and the real character of these responsibilities must not be forgotten. In throwing down a challenge to the Imperial Parliament, the Roman hierarchy have done far more than repeat their old, obscure intervention as individuals in the Home Rule controversy. They have openly assumed the right to interfere as a church in politics, and in so doing they have shaken to its foundation the whole edifice of religious toleration in these islands."

The *Manchester (England) Guardian* immediately took up the challenge thrown down by the *Times*. Commenting on the assertion that the action of the Irish bishops had "shaken to the foundation the whole edifice of religious toleration in these islands," it editorially declared:

"First, the 'edifice of religious toleration' is, after all, not quite so rickety a structure as the *Times*, preparing for the assault, imagines it to be. It is the growth, after all, of several centuries of our history, and though its principles appear to have taken no firm root in *Printing House Square*, they are fairly well understood and profoundly cherished by Englishmen generally and will not be breached by even the most liberal expenditure of printer's ink. But, secondly, if the edifice was going to be shaken by a display of ecclesiastical partisanship in Ireland now, why was it not set rocking four or five years ago when the Protestant churches of Ulster solemnly pledged themselves and their flocks to resist the Home Rule act should it become a law? The movement was strictly analogous to that recently enacted in the Catholic churches of the South and quite as official, yet we are not aware that the *Times* scented any peril to the cause of religious toleration, which, as a matter of fact, was no more in danger then that it is now. Is it not time that this intolerable sort of hypocrisy should cease and that we should at least approach our political problems, which are in themselves surely sufficiently hard, with some approach to intellectual honesty?"

The *Guardian*, a few days later, May 11, reviewing the whole

Irish situation, said :

“Mr. Lloyd George’s government has been in power for a year and a half. It has done some very good work ; it is now preparing to do some very evil work. The good it has done—not, it is true, without qualifications—has been in putting fresh heart into the conduct of the war and in bringing about at last, and with heavy penalties for the delay, unity of command. The evil it is preparing is more instant and qualified. If not restrained, it will, within a few short weeks, undo all the progress which has been made since Mr. Gladstone first undertook the work, in the pacification of Ireland. That is to say, it will have destroyed the reconciling work of more than a generation of statesmanship, and will have given us an Ireland more ungovernable except by main force, more exasperated in feeling, more deeply alienated than any with which this country has had to deal since the rebellion of 1798. That is the prospect, and we do not believe we have overdrawn the picture. We should be glad to believe that we have overdrawn it. But all the information that reaches us, whether from public or from private sources, goes to show that the government are deliberately preparing a catastrophe.

“The first overt steps may be taken shortly after Whitsuntide—that is, in about three weeks. The preliminary steps have, of course, been in active preparation ever since the passing of the Military Service act. These steps are partly civil, partly military. In regard to the first, we have the resignations of the Irish Attorney-General, a Liberal and a Home Ruler ; of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Duke, a Conservative, but who had become convinced, like other Conservatives with experience of Irish administration, of the need of a great advance in the direction of Irish self-government ; of Lord Wimborne, the Liberal Lord Lieutenant.

“Of the military preparations, we are not free to speak. They are perfectly well known in Ireland, and are reflected first in the resignation or suppression of Sir Bryan Mahon, the liberal-minded Commander of the Forces in Ireland, a good Irishman whom most Irishmen thoroughly liked and trusted, and next in the impending restriction on all passenger traffic across St. George’s Channel.

“What is clearly intended is the enforcement of conscription in Ireland at the point of the sword. It is perfectly well known and best of all it must be known to the government, that this can only be done at the cost of bloodshed and of extensive bloodshed. The toll of blood must be taken wherever the toll of men is taken—that is, in every village of Nationalist Ireland.

“Do Englishmen—we do not speak of Liberals and Home Rulers only, but of all decent, patriotic men—realize what this means, first in the absolute destruction of the hope of any friendly solution of the constitutional relations of the two countries in the near future, and secondly, in the sowing of so rich a crop of alienation and of hate as may well make such a solution impossible for a generation? Of course, there are people, both here and in Ireland, to whom such a result would not be at all unwelcome, who would indeed regard the placing of Nationalist Ireland once more definitely under the heel of British power, and a reversion to the familiar policy and methods of Irish coercion, at least for our time, as cheaply bought at the cost of a few lives, and the laceration once more of the body and soul of Ireland.

“But is Mr. Lloyd George of these, are the Liberal and Labour members of his government, are his Liberal and Labour supporters in the House of Commons, are the great mass of well-meaning and honest Englishmen?

“Of course, we shall be told that this is only half of the government policy, that they also are converts, or at least assentors to Home Rule, and that the price of Home Rule, or at least its essential concomitant, is conscription, and that this is so, not merely, not even chiefly, because of the men whom conscription may draw to the army, but because the power to conscript is part of the essential prerogative of the Crown, and of Parliament, which administers that prerogative, and that to dispute it is rank rebellion and mere separatism.

“Let us look at facts, and not confuse ourselves with theories. The fact is that, if anyone two years ago had proposed to impose conscription on Scotland or on Wales—we say nothing of England—against the unanimous resistance of any of those peoples, it would have been universally regarded as an outrage, and no statesman would have attempted it. Why, then, is it not an outrage in the case of Ireland? Nor is the offer of a measure of Home Rule, even supposing it to be adequate in all other respects, any real compensation to Ireland for the imposition of conscription.

“To begin with, she does not believe in it. She sees opinion in Ireland, the old Ascendancy opinion which the convention had partly modified, now hardening against her; the Southern Unionists beginning to draw back, and many of them loudly repudiating the concessions made by their representatives in the convention; Ulster more alienated than ever, and declaring all its suspicions and all its hostility now more than justified; the English government inviting rebellion, were rebellion possible.



JOHN MCGARRY (CHICAGO)

CHAIRMAN OF THE FAMOUS "COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED" WHICH
STOOD WITHOUT WAVERING FOR IRELAND'S CAUSE IN THE DARK-
EST HOURS OF THE STRUGGLE.

Executive

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Are these conditions, conditions which the English government has itself created by taking power to conscript Ireland against her will, such as to make the promise of a real measure of Home Rule other than mockery? And who shall say that Nationalist Ireland is not right? Who, looking at the matter honestly, can for a moment believe that, out of the chaos and strife they are proposing to create, the government will or can evolve anything but the fruits of strife and chaos?

"What does a government deserve which lends itself to such a policy, and prepares for our common country mischiefs so great and far-reaching? Clearly by all and every means it should be restrained, or, if it cannot be restrained, then got rid of.

"Not even the pressure of the war should prevent every patriotic Englishman from resisting by every means in his power such folly and such crime. Even now there are tens of thousands of men in Ireland who can ill be spared from a very different fighting front. How many more will be needed before the work is finished?

"And with what sort of face shall we appear at the Peace Conference, that day of judgment for political wrongdoers, with Ireland by our side, beaten, bleeding and accusing? Let anyone who doubts read the message of the king today to the American soldiers, and then consider how that message will look in the light of those ugly facts."

In Northeast Ulster the Covenanter press made the most of that "No Popery" issue. The *Belfast News Letter*, in an article, under the heading, "The Papal Enemy," said:

"The action which the Roman Catholic Bishops have taken against conscription is opening the eyes of the British people to two facts that are well known to Irish Unionists. The first is that the Vatican has been the enemy of the Allies, and the friend of Germany all through the war, and the second is that Home Rule would place the enemy in power in Ireland, and give it the means of striking a fatal blow at the heart of the Empire. English newspapers which have been advocating Home Rule are astonished to find that Ulster is right, but they cannot deny that the evidence is conclusive. Home Rule would be *Rome Rule*, and that rule would be consistently hostile to England and the Empire, as well as to Irish Protestants. Is the government going to persist in the infamous and treacherous policy of forcing a Home Rule bill through Parliament at the crisis of the Empire's fate? Is it going to put Ireland under the Roman Church, and subject Protestants to its tyranny, now that its hostility to England, the United States, and all free nations is openly declared?"

Perhaps the most violent assault upon the Catholics that had ever been published in a newspaper in Ireland was an editorial in the *Belfast News Letter*, May 31, 1918, commenting on the visit of the Prince of Wales to the Pope. It follows:

"The visit of the Prince of Wales to the Pope has caused general surprise and regret, but his Royal Highness is not to blame, as he acted on the advice of the government. . . . The British people have expressly repudiated the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, and they care nothing for his opinion of them, which, even on moral questions, is more likely to be wrong than right. This new departure was a recognition of him as the head of a state, and therefore an offense against Italy, since it encouraged him to hope for the support of the government in his demand for the restoration of the temporal power. This gratuitous blunder made it necessary for the Italian government to stipulate in a treaty that the Pope should not be allowed to take part in peace negotiations. It was not going to enter the war in order to bring about the dismemberment of Italy. . . . The Vatican was the enemy of the Allies from the first, and it is still their enemy. The Pope refrained from condemning German atrocities in Belgium and elsewhere, under the pretense that it was his duty to be neutral, and he even found excuses for the destruction of the Lusitania. When Cardinal Mercier and other Belgian Roman Catholics appealed to him, he said it was his duty to hear both sides. But there is only one side to the invasion of Belgium. The German Chancellor admitted it was wrong, but the Pope has never gone so far. If he had been zealous for peace, or for international law and morality, he would have denounced the crime with which Germany started the war. But he was silent, and he has remained silent to this hour. Why? Because the Kaiser has promised that a German victory will lead to the restoration of the temporal power. One of the Pope's officials has been convicted of treason against Italy, and is a fugitive from justice. The defeat of the Italian army was brought about largely by the intrigue of priests. And the Vatican is the special enemy of England. It works unceasingly for her downfall. The anti-conscription riots in Quebec and the agitation by Archbishop Mannix in Australia are examples; and more recently we have the resolutions of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops, defying the Imperial Parliament and commanding collections in every parish on behalf of their illegal campaign. The mission to the Pope, as if he were head of a friendly state, instead of the most persistent enemy of England, is indefensible. The present government did not appoint it, but it is responsible for maintaining it, and it should take the earliest op-

portunity of delivering the country from an embarrassing entanglement which benefits only the enemy, and it is entirely to blame for agreeing yesterday to the Pope's request that our aeroplanes should not molest German cities, because, as it was the feast of Corpus Christi, there were religious processions in the streets. But the Pope showed no concern about the murder of innocent people in London and elsewhere in England, nor was he horrified when the Germans shelled a Paris congregation on Good Friday, nor when they deliberately dropped bombs on hospitals. It is only when the Germans suffer, or are in danger of suffering the punishment of their crimes, that his sensitive heart is touched. But the War Cabinet should have rejected his request indignantly. . . . The British people will be justly indignant when they see that instead of a Win-the-War Cabinet, they have got a Please-the-Pope Cabinet."

The Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, was understood to afford the color of governmental approval of the "No Popery" cry when, in reply to a Home Rule Memorial signed by sixty thousand Irishmen in England, he said:

"The difficulties have not been rendered easier by the challenge of the supremacy of the British Parliament by the Nationalist and Roman Catholic hierarchy, in conjunction with the Sinn Feiners."

The New York World, May 3, 1918, commenting on the premier's statement, said:

"This plain statement of present-day fact is, unfortunately, complicated by the additional fact that four years ago, the Unionists of Ulster, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, were allowed to 'challenge the supremacy of the British Parliament' by threatening Great Britain with civil war, and the government backed down. It was this challenge which convinced Germany that Great Britain would not dare to go to war over the invasion of Belgium. Yet, sir Edward Carson was subsequently taken into the British Cabinet, and the government's surrender to the Ulster rebels has been the inspiration both of Nationalists and Sinn Feiners, in defying conscription. If the British government had met the challenge of the Carsonites four years ago, it would not be obliged to meet the challenge of the other factions now."

The *London (England) Star* said: "Mr. Lloyd George was once a Liberal. He was also once a Home Ruler. It is not easy to discover any trace of either in the incendiary letter which he has addressed to Mr. Burt. Last week, Lord Northcliffe started a 'No Popery' crusade in the *Times*, in the teeth of indignant

protest by English Unionists who happened also to be Roman Catholics, including Sir Mark Sykes, M. P. Mr. George has lost no time in joining Lord Northcliffe."

The religious issue had now assumed a grave aspect with respect to the forces of the Allies in the field. The persistent villification of the Pope and Catholics generally was an attack on the religion of hundreds of thousands of fighting men in the allied armies, entirely dissociated from aspersions on Ireland for her anti-conscription stand. There was genuine fear that, if persisted in, the morale of large sections of the allied armies might be seriously undermined. Accordingly, the cooler heads set about to check the fires of bigotry that threatened to sweep the whole world, and, as a result, the propaganda immediately abated but not until scars were left which will not be eradicated in years. Meanwhile, official cognizance had been taken by the Vatican of the attacks.

The *Corriere d'Italia*, the semi-official Vatican organ, was prompted to comment on a statement made in the House of Commons by Mr. Balfour, in which the foreign secretary inferentially was understood to asperse Cardinal Logue of Ireland. Reuter's News Agency carried the following dispatch under a Rome date of April 20: "The Holy See has always left the Episcopacy of each country free to take what attitude it might think best in the internal affairs of its own country. Thus, whatever Cardinal Logue may consider it expedient to do about conscription in Ireland cannot affect the impartiality or neutrality of the Vatican in this war, nor can it be considered a violation of the policy consistently followed by the Holy See since the war began."

The *Westminster (London) Gazette*, April 29, 1918, said: "Whatever may be uncertain, this, at least, is evident—that the Irish trouble cannot be countered by a 'No Popery' stunt. Be our attitude towards the Roman Catholic clergy what it may, the introduction of new bitterness would be but the addition of folly to folly. The actions of the Irish hierarchy is an incident in political warfare. It neither adds to nor subtracts from the problem which we have to solve. The task of securing from Ireland soldiers which are needed in the fighting line will not be made easier by a new excursion into religious controversy. The sole need of the moment is an honest and single-minded endeavor to straighten out the Irish tangle and to substitute good-will for suspicion and hostility."

The *Diarist* of the same journal wrote: "I am not surprised to learn that the government, having taken their plunge into conscription for Ireland, are growing more and more anxious about



HUGH O'NEILL

CHICAGO BARRISTER'S DEFENSE OF ANTI-CONSCRIPTION STAND
MADE A STRONG IMPRESSION BACK IN OLD ERIN. IT WAS THE
FIRST NEWS TO TRICKLE THROUGH FROM AMERICA.

the results of their policy. Apparently, and I judge this from the newspapers which are in closest touch with the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George is greatly annoyed by the attitude of the Irish hierarchy. It never occurred to the government that the Catholic Church would throw itself on the side of the people in resisting conscription, although it might have made some inquiries on this point. If we are thinking merely of getting the Irish situation right, to add a 'No Popery' campaign to the other troubles would be to make confusion worse confounded. Certainly an attempt to make the whole church responsible, whatever reasonable ground may be found for protest against the action of the Irish Bishops, would be resented by English Catholics, who, in proportion to their numbers, have shed their blood as willingly as Protestants in defense of the Empire."

Cardinal Logue, in an interview granted Mr. George Leach, an English newspaper man, in the latter part of April, frankly discussed Ireland's attitude on conscription. Mr. Leach's report of the interview in part is as follows:

"I asked the Cardinal what was the root of the Irish hostility to conscription, and he referred me to the official declaration of the Maynooth conference. He reinforced it with some considerations of his own, which may be called the human economic argument. It is perhaps the gravest indictment of English rule that during the last sixty or seventy years Ireland has lost nearly half her population.

"The cardinal's point was that, by their emigration, caused or stimulated by an unpopular form of government, the country had already lost far more of her manhood than she could afford. Emigration had been stopped during the war, but there was a great rush of recruits at the beginning—a rush which might have continued, if England had behaved decently, and if the War Office at one time had not set itself against the raising of Irish divisions as such."

"I put several questions.

"Question—Was the 'No Popery' cry likely to harm the church itself?

"Answer—Not a bit of it, but if persisted in, it might do harm to the Allies. Leaving out of account the Irish and Continental Catholics fighting on the side of the Allies, he was told that forty per cent of the American soldiers were Catholics, either of Irish birth or Irish descent, and it was a stupid thing in England to try to raise a foolish and false issue. The Catholics would see through it, but all the same they would not like it.

"Question—Had the bishops now thrown themselves into the

arms of the Sinn Feiners?

"Answer—No, they had not. He himself had always been against Sinn Fein as such, and had frequently said so. It was the British government themselves who were encouraging Sinn Fein by bringing forward conscription."

In the flood of rejoinders that came from the Irish bishops, the Bishop of Down and Connor, in a concise statement, seemed to cover the entire ground, from the viewpoint of the hierarchy. Under the caption, "The Fires of Bigotry," the press reported him as follows:

"Speaking at St. Malachy's, Belfast, yesterday, his Lordship, the Most Reverend Dr. MacRory, Bishop of Down and Connor, asked the congregation to pray with increased frequency and fervour that their dear country might be spared the horrors that would almost certainly follow upon any attempt to enforce conscription. There was still, he said, great ground for hope that the British government would become convinced of the futility and madness of the project. Madness it certainly was; for while it would create, as was said, a new western front, antagonize men of Irish blood throughout America and the British Colonies, and hold England as the champion of the rights of small nations up to ridicule for trampling on the right of self-determination in one of the oldest nations of Western Christendom, it would yet furnish comparatively few soldiers for the British army.

"The steady stream of emigration resulting from bad laws and worse administration had largely robbed Ireland of her manhood, and the great bulk of those who were left were needed for the present largely-increased tillage, and, moreover, the soldiers they would raise by conscription would certainly never have their heart in their work, and would be a source of weakness rather than of strength.

"His Lordship went on to say that the Irish bishops, with his Eminence Cardinal Logue at their head, had been violently attacked in certain English and Irish newspapers for their opposition to conscription; but it was some consolation to remember that in the past four years, those same papers had been extolling as heroic the patriotism of Cardinal Mercier in standing up for his Belgian people against German oppression.

"Yes, Cardinal Mercier was a hero, but, when our illustrious Irish Cardinal, a man of God and of peace, ripe in years and in virtue, beloved by all his people, dared to stand up against a tyranny ten times worse than anything of the kind attempted in Belgium by Germany, a tyranny that does not merely enforce labour, but seeks to impose a blood-tax, and, in defiance of a na-

tional protest, strikes at a nation's life, these self-contradictory scribes raise a cry of affected horror, and seek to stir up the fires of religious bigotry. Even his Holiness, Benedict XV, was attacked though he was as little responsible for the decision of the Irish Bishops as the editor of the *Times*, and we were even threatened with a 'No Popery' campaign.

"His Lordship wondered did these scribes, when they wrote such stuff, advert to the fact that England's allies in this war were Catholic France, Catholic Italy, and Catholic Belgium, and that a great part of the American and Colonial armies was made up of Catholics, most of them, too, of Irish blood. The best service the censor could do to the Empire would be to suppress all such senseless effusions of religious bigotry. As to the Pope, seeing that his Holiness had not interfered to oppose the conscription of Catholics in England and Canada, nor even the conscription of priests for military service in France, it ought to have been sufficiently evident that he had nothing to do with the opposition offered to conscription by the Irish bishops. No, that opposition was, and is, based mainly on the principle that, if a nation has any rights at all, it has the right to say when and why it shall shed its blood, and also on the ground that no power has any moral right to coerce young Irishmen to fight in the alleged interests of freedom until they have been allowed to enjoy freedom for themselves. Irish bishops, like Irishmen generally, could not forget that, for the last forty years, the constitutional demand for self-government had been pressed in a constitutional manner by more than eighty per cent of the Irish representatives, and they all knew with what result. His Lordship went on to say that he was delighted there was no need to bring the question of religion into the matter. Very many non-Catholics, even in the North of Ireland, were equally opposed to conscription. In his own diocese, both at Ballycastle, and, he believed, at Ballymoney, Catholics and non-Catholics had together held large meetings in opposition to conscription."

Under the caption, "Ireland's Danger; People Must Not Play the Enemy's Game," the *London (England) Herald* presented a picture of what was now going on in Ireland in a special dispatch from its correspondent in Ireland, as follows:

"British troops have been poured into Ireland, armoured trains, armoured cars, barbed wire apparatus, machine guns abound. Troops move about everywhere, and the attempt is made to overawe the populace by a great display of force. The danger is that the action of some soldier or officer may set the match to a blaze which will involve the whole coun-

try. Unfortunately, Irish history teaches us that from '98 onwards there have not been wanting persons in high places who have goaded the people deliberately into active resistance in order to gain some supposed advantage for England. The graves of Wexford are an eloquent testimony to the work in this direction of Lord Clare. The weaker the British government the graver is the danger of such action, and if the Irish people can be goaded into armed insurrection, before an attempt is made to impose conscription by an annoying and insolent display of force, such action would place the Irish in an unfavorable light before the British people."

There was some speculation as to whether the government, having failed with conscription, intended to carry out its announced purpose of bringing in a new Home Rule bill. Sir Edward Carson again uttered defiance to the government. This was on May 7, 1918, when no man knew or could even vision whether Germany or the Allies were going to win. He flung out the threat of civil war in Ireland, regardless of the world war, if the government persisted in Home Rule. He said:

"I have said nothing of Ulster. Loyal Ulster is waiting calm and with confidence. Our people do not believe that either Mr. Bonar Law or Mr. Walter Long could ever be a party to any bill which did not carry out their specific pledges to Ulster, so freely and so frequently made. But this calm, let it be recollected, is an indication not of weakness but of strength. I appeal, therefore, to the Unionist members of the government and to the Unionist Party to compel a reconsideration of this matter before we have a fratricidal conflict at a time when our whole energies should be devoted to the prosecution of the war."

In the midst of the "fires of bigotry" the following card in a Dublin newspaper was all but overlooked:

"The following protest against conscription, dated the 17th instant, is sent to the press: 'We, the undersigned writers, feel compelled to appeal and protest against the enforcement of conscription in our country, believing, as we do, that such action will destroy all hope of peace in Ireland and good-will towards England in our lifetime.

" '(Signed) A. Gregory, W. B. Yeats, James Stephens, George Russell ("AE."), Douglas Hyde ("An Craoibhin").' "

CHAPTER XXV

ENGLISH LABOR TAKES A STAND

OF more pressing concern to the British government at the moment, doubtless, was the attitude of organized labor in England. The notion that the Irish stand was generally condemned in England is erroneous. Ireland's strongest sympathizers were in England. There is genuine affection among the English masses for Ireland and the Irish. While the ruling classes and the more intolerant Protestants were beside themselves with rage (and we can readily understand their thought, since the Empire was in danger and Ireland apparently was not doing her share) the masses of the English did not consider the immediate act so much as the cause—the generations of blundering leading up to it. The average Briton, jealous of his individual rights, clearly understood the Irish mind. Accordingly, organized labor in England, a general breakdown of which must have been fatal to the British war machine, at once took an unequivocal stand. The joint executives of the English Trade Union Congress and of the Labor Party addressed the following appeal to the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the government on the question of conscription in Ireland:

"When the Military Service bill was before the country organized labour declared its opposition to the proposal to enforce conscription upon the Irish people without their consent. We had information which enabled us to gauge the strength of Irish feelings and to form an estimate as to the fierce resentment which would be excited. That we were correct in our forecasting of the position is only too obvious.

"It must be clearly evident to the government that an attempt to enforce conscription will mean not merely the shedding of the blood of thousands of Irishmen and Englishmen and Scotsmen, too; but also the maintenance of a huge permanent army of occupation in Ireland.

"Today, every soldier is needed at the Western front. Yet the government is proposing to take a course which will involve the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of soldiers to engage in a civil war which will outrage the conscience of the civilized world. Nay, more, Irishmen are scattered wide over the world—in America, in the Dominions, in Great Britain itself, and there are large numbers in our armies on the Western front.

"The tragedy cannot be merely local or confined to Ireland. It may be easily the beginning of a world tragedy in which our last hopes of a fairer future will be extinguished.

"It is to be remembered that the active co-operation of Ireland is now vital to the maintenance of the full supplies alike of the armies in France and of the British people.

"During 1917, the part played by Ireland in providing food for Great Britain was only a little inferior to that of the United States, and during the present year a greatly increasing production may be confidently counted on.

"The consequence of exasperating the Irish people at such a moment might well be ruinous to the realization of this programme, and might so reduce the food supplies of Great Britain as to convert what is already a serious situation into a critical or calamitous one.

"With all these facts and terrible anticipations in mind, we confidently appeal to the government at once to take the necessary steps to avert the appalling disaster which now threatens our country and our national good name.

"We appeal to them on grounds of principle and of expediency alike, not to violate the national conscience and not to jeopardize the whole future of this country and its allies and their success in the war by imposing conscription upon a nation without its own consent and in face of this certainty of the most determined and united opposition.

"At the least, we appeal to them to give an open and unmistakable public promise that no proclamation applying conscription to Ireland will be issued until an Irish Parliament, expressing the real will of the Irish people, has come fully into existence.

"With the possibilities involved in a serious prolongation of the war, a restless, angered, estranged, lawless Ireland is serious to contemplate, and we appeal to the government not only for the sake of Ireland, but for the sake of our own country, of our allies, and of the future of the democracy of the whole civilized world."

The right Honorable J. H. Thomas, M. P., Labor member for Derby, one of the most influential labor leaders in England, and an unswerving supporter of the government in prosecuting the war, came to Dublin on April 23 and addressed a large meeting of Irish labor forces in the Mansion House. He said that conscription was wrong, and so far as Home Rule was concerned, "nothing was so mean, nothing was so contemptible," and nothing, in his judgment, "more entitled them to complain, than the suggestion that their centuries-old claim of self-government was to be given to them as a bargain for accepting something that they ab-

solutely detested." He believed that a "profound blunder" had been made.

Conscription for Ireland was now impossible. Despite the despatch of Lord French to Ireland, with the original intention of imposing the "blood tax" ruthlessly, accompanied by a flood of propaganda let loose on the whole world in scathing reprobation of Ireland, the government soon ditched conscription, and also with it any intention it may have had of bringing forth a new Home Rule bill, as the Premier had intimated would be done in conjunction with conscription. The effect of the government's surrender was to further quicken the national spirit in Ireland and to glorify her pride, but before the government reluctantly admitted its impotency to deal intelligently with the situation, Ireland was yet to feel again the bitter sting of the most effective propaganda that can be launched against an individual or a nation—the charge of treason in times of war.

CHAPTER XXVI

NEWS FROM AMERICA

WITH conscription now as dead as the proverbial door nail, the "free Ireland" forces took a breathing spell, and began speculating on the future.

One of the first questions they asked was as to how their friends in America were taking their opposition to conscription. The British government was in control of the source of communication and the censorship had become very drastic. Only such information as the government wanted to get out of Ireland was permitted to pass the censor, and, for the most part, the same was true of all news coming in. But, little by little, the attitude of the friends in America trickled in. The leaders in Ireland were prepared to be "misunderstood," as they put it, in the heat of the great war, when the whole world was divided into two armed camps, and were even prepared for something of a reaction against them in America until such time as Ireland's case could be fully set forth.

It was, therefore, with profound thanksgiving that a statement issued by Peter J. Peel, who had just been elected President of the Irish Fellowship Club in Chicago, reached Ireland. This interview indicated to the leaders that the anti-conscription stand was not being misinterpreted on the part of intelligent Irishmen in the United States. It was given wide circulation throughout Ireland by publication in the *Freeman's Journal* of May 15. The *Freeman's* account follows:

"The new president of the Irish Fellowship Club is Mr. Peter J. Peel. The *Chicago Citizen* describes him as an Irish-American of whom all Irish-Americans have good reason to be proud. 'He will bring to the duties of the honourable and honorary office for which he has been selected by his fellow-countrymen—citizens of America of Irish birth or descent—a love for the old land coming with him from the town where he was born—Dublin—and the old town by the Shannon where he was raised and which he still regards as the "old home town."'

"In a recent interview on Irish conscription, Mr. Peel, after quoting in detail the figures of Ireland's voluntary contribution, said: 'That makes 230,000 men all told from Ireland. A short time ago the British government presented to Parliament also an official estimate of the number of men still left in Ireland who would be available for service if the draft were applied to Ire-



PETER J. PEEL

WHOSE INTERVIEW IN CHICAGO, AS PRESIDENT OF IRISH FELLOWSHIP CLUB, HEARTENED THE LEADERS IN IRELAND.

land. That official estimate was 161,239 men.

“‘Now, as to the question whether those 161,239 ought to be drafted or not. A law establishing an Irish Parliament has been on the statute book of England since 1914, but it has not been put into operation. Ireland feels that only an Irish Parliament has the right to conscript Irishmen in their own country. England would not dream of applying the draft to Canada, or Australia, or South Africa. They would not allow that. Why, then, should Ireland allow it? Ireland has done splendidly in support of this war, in spite of the opposition of the extremist minority. If an Irish Parliament is set up now, as it ought to be, it will be able to help further in supporting the war. This is what all patriotic Irishmen want to see. If England is unwise enough to try and do in Ireland what Canada or Australia would not allow, she would be hindering and not helping the successful prosecution of the war, for her action would be resisted in Ireland and resented by Irishmen in all parts of the world. I am sure she will not do anything so foolish as to try and force the draft on Ireland.

“‘It would be wrong, and in addition, it would not pay. The way to get more men from Ireland for the war is to put self-government in operation there. That can be and ought to be done at once. It would rally all Ireland against the Germans, and would make Irishmen the world over more enthusiastic than ever in their support of the war.’”

At about the same time a copy of the *Chicago Tribune* reached Dublin, carrying an editorial which, while not supporting Ireland's opposition to conscription, yet displayed a sympathetic understanding of Ireland's attitude. This encouraged the leaders in the belief that the historic case for Ireland was not to be thrown out of court or obscured entirely by the desperate situation prevailing in Ireland.

In a few days a copy of the *Chicago Daily News* arrived, carrying an article which banished the last of any fears the leaders had as to Irish-American sentiment in the States. The article in the News, which also was reprinted in the Nationalist papers, was in part as follows:

“Irish liberty and Irish independence before conscription. This is set up by local leaders who have been fighting for the liberation of Ireland. Joseph P. Mahony, former Senate leader on the minority side; Attorney Hugh O'Neill, Judge George F. Barrett, and other students of Irish history take the stand that Ireland should be given the same consideration as was Australia and Canada, namely, that Ireland's people should be granted the right to vote on the question of conscription.

"Attorney O'Neill was busy selling Liberty Bonds among his associates at the bar, when a reporter for the *Daily News* asked him for an expression. 'Why should Ireland stand for conscription?' was the opening sentence by Attorney O'Neill. 'Why should they be called upon to fight for the liberties of other people while they themselves are in chains? England's avowed purpose on entering the war was to establish the rights and liberties of small nations, to advance the cause of permanent world peace, and to make the whole world free. . . . The Irish people are not willing to rush madly into an Armageddon to put Serbia and Roumania and other small nations back upon the map. They believe in the principle enunciated by our great President—"That no peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principles that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and that peoples . . . "are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty, as if they were mere chattels and pawns in the game."'

"Attorney Mahony, who said he learned his first thoughts in Irish history and her fight for liberty as he sat upon the knee of his father, asked that England first give Ireland her independence, and then conscription. 'I hold that England has no right of law to conscript the men of Ireland,' he said. 'She has no right to do so in Canada and Australia, which are provinces of England. Ireland is a union, and her people should be granted the right to vote on conscription. Australia voted it down, and in Canada it would have been voted down, if it were not for an act passed which did not permit a free expression, and in some parts of Canada, received defiant opposition to the result of the vote.'

"Judge Barrett hopes that the English Government will meet the crisis in the right spirit. 'Every Irishman wants the liberty that President Wilson told us the small nation should have,' said Judge Barrett. 'All of us want to win the war, and Ireland should be given her independence, and there will be no question of what the Irish people will do. I see no reason why the people of Ireland should be denied a vote on conscription when Australia and Canada obtained it. If England will free Ireland, this serious situation will be past.'"

As other news came in, came the news from Chicago of the organization of the Committee of One Hundred, of which Geo. E. Gorman was chairman and John A. McGarry head of the executive committee. This organization was reported to be standing out as squarely for "Ireland's rights" as were the leaders in Ireland.

Then the anti-conscription leaders in Ireland took a fresh reef in their belts, as the saying goes, polished up their rhetoric and,

fired with new zeal, awaited any action the government might take.

They were convinced by the news from Chicago that Ireland's stand would not be wholly misunderstood at the World's Court.

CHAPTER XXVII

STILL ANOTHER "GERMAN PLOT"

THE free Ireland forces had defeated conscription and now calmly awaited the next move by the government. It came swiftly. It was a formal announcement to the world that another "German plot" had been unearthed in Ireland, involving the Sinn Fein leaders.

Just how much the bi-election campaign in the East Cavan division contributed to the government's latest step was conjectural. Mr. Arthur Griffith, one of the founders and vice president of Sinn Fein, was up for the vacancy. The Constitutional Nationalists were supporting Mr. O'Hanlon, a thoroughgoing Irish patriot, who doubtless was about ninety-nine per cent Sinn Fein at heart. With the horror of threatened conscription still fresh in their minds, the Irish people had no time now for controversial essays on a point of expediency. Such patriotism as fired the masses did not take any account of expediency, which seemed to be the main contention of the Parliamentarians. The people were so thoroughly aroused in their detestation of English rule that the cardinal principle of the Dillon Parliamentarians was the one thing that hit them cold, for the Parliamentarians insisted that the salvation of Ireland could best be worked out in the English Parliament itself. The Sinn Fein doctrine was the precise antithesis, namely, that, though elected to Parliament, they would not dishonor the soul of Ireland by taking these seats, since by so doing it would be tantamount to recognizing England's right to make laws for Ireland. Ireland did not stop to argue the political or economic issues here raised. It only felt that, live or die, survive or perish, Sinn Fein offered the only sound and attractive appeal—complete severance from English interference. The East Cavan election now in full swing presented the psychologic opportunity for Sinn Fein. Notwithstanding the military proclamations the campaign offered the boon of historic "privileged statements," which Englishmen themselves held to zealously even since the Magna Charta. Accordingly, Sinn Fein orators flocked to East Cavan and their speeches were not calculated to aid the government in restoring peaceful conditions.

Sinn Fein and the Parliamentarians, who had been united to a man against conscription, broke definitely on the question of party principles. This break came at the joint meeting in Ballaghaderreen on May 5th. More than fifteen thousand peo-



MAUD GONNE MACBRIDE

ONE OF IRELAND'S MOST BEAUTIFUL WOMEN WHO WAS DEPORTED
AND THROWN INTO PRISON BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

Lead

ple had gathered to hear Mr. Dillon, leader of the Parliamentarians, and Mr. De Valera, chief of the Sinn Feiners, present their arguments. The throng was made up largely of Mr. Dillon's constituents, and his fine oratorical periods met with boisterous approval. How was De Valera, halting in his speech, in no wise an orator, to match Dillon's ringing appeal? There were even some hostile demonstrations as the boyish De Valera started to answer Dillon, but his sincerity, his simplicity and his pure love of the old Ireland soon disarmed and then captured the great multitude. It was what he said and not how he said it that sounded the death knell of the Parliamentary party. He said that the British government had used its military strength to destroy that ancient land, a power which, even for the last hundred years, had given examples with respect to Ireland of every claim that the English people and the English government laid against Germany. It was a government that had wiped out, within the last sixty or seventy years, four and a half millions or so of the Irish people, a government which gave the only example of a race destroyed by foreign rule. It was this government that asked Ireland for the last final tribute. He knew the people would never give it, and that they "would not be such slaves as to go at the bidding of their taskmasters."

Then, as if inspired, he delivered the great blow, when he said: "We are not afraid of death. It is not the craven fear of death that keeps us from the world war. It is common sense that keeps us, and if they dare to try their conscription act upon this country, they will have proof that there are yet men living in Ireland."

It was the Sinn Feiners who were striking the deep responsive chord in the breasts of the people. To the government these leaders were the real menace, not the Constitutional Nationalists, and, no doubt, in the heat of some of their inflammable speeches, they did raise a suspicion that they were sympathizers with England's enemies in the world war.

Whatever may have been the real motive behind the action, the government decided to strike, and on the night of May 17-18, carrying out carefully matured plans, the military, the constabulary, and the Dublin Metropolitan Police threw out a dragnet that extended from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, arresting and throwing in jail, prisons and police stations the known leaders of Sinn Fein, as well as scores of sympathizers.

The following morning the government issued its proclamation. It stated unequivocally that another German plot had been

foiled, and followed this immediately with the rushing of the prisoners to Kingstown harbor, where they were loaded on a gunboat and deported to England, to be there lodged in English jails, prisons and internment camps.

The masses of the people took no stock in the government's charge of a German plot. They believed it was another plot on the part of the government to further ruin Ireland in the eyes of the world. They did not stop to consider, in fact, whether there was a German plot or whether a crime had been committed. In their minds nothing was a crime that was aimed at English rule. But what they did see, standing out in their minds like another horror, was the terrible word DEPORTATION. The old ascendancy crowd, they believed, was up to its old tricks, and their minds went back to the days of King James, to the days of the Henrys, to the days of Elizabeth, and to the days of Cromwell. And in their ears rang again the tyrant's contempt: "To hell or Connaught!"

The humiliation struck deep—England's denial of the right of Irishmen to be tried in Ireland for crimes alleged to have been committed in Ireland. De Valera was one of those arrested and deported. Whereas formerly he had been simply one of many defiers of rule by "the foreigner," he now became the idol of the masses, and his party principles became their very religion. In that one day, not only the new leaders, but a new party was enshrined in the hearts of the masses. Constitutional Parliamentaryism was dead.

Mr. Dillon saw the danger confronting his party and he immediately issued an appeal to the American people to remain steadfast in their support of the Nationalists. In the course of this appeal, he said:

"The two great forces which have been the root and cause of Ireland's troubles in recent years have been stupidity and insincerity of the British government, which has obstinately refused, under the dictation of Sir Edward Carson, to apply in Ireland the principles for which the Allies are fighting in Europe; and, secondly, the unlimited financial resources supplied to Sinn Fein from New York. I, therefore, feel justified in making an urgent appeal to all those of Irish blood in the United States to support our party in Ireland, which is fighting for Irish liberty, without betraying the cause of liberty in other lands. . . . My attention has been directed to statements that I and the Irish Party, of which I am leader, have adopted Sinn Fein methods, and joined the Sinn Fein party. These statements are utterly unfounded and false. So far from that being the case, I am more than ever con-

vinced that the policy of Sinn Fein is wrong, foolish, and bound to end in defeat and disaster. Even during the last three weeks, while in the Mansion House Conference the Sinn Fein leaders co-operated with us in resisting the enforcement of conscription in the British Parliament, they absolutely refused to agree to a party truce and continued to denounce us because we believed in constitutional methods, because we aimed at a settlement based on full freedom and self-government under a friendly settlement with Great Britain, and because we adhered to the declaration of Mr. Redmond at the outbreak of the war, and believe that the cause of the Allies is the cause of freedom throughout the world."

Mr. Dillon was fighting for his party's life, but his detestation of English rule in Ireland was just as pure, apparently, as that of the most rabid Sinn Feiner. While realizing the jeopardy in which Sinn Fein had placed his party, he continued his co-operation with Sinn Fein against conscription and was one of the first to denounce the government for deporting the Sinn Fein leaders.

"It is difficult to understand," he said, "why the government took action at this particular moment, and why, in Lord French's proclamation, the alleged German plot should be mixed up with conscription, unless on the assumption that the main purpose in the minds of the government just now is to poison American opinion against the Irish nation. The charge made in Lord French's proclamation against the Sinn Fein prisoners is extremely serious, and the method adopted by the government is, so far as I know, unprecedented in British history. They have arrested and deported these men to England without any definite charge being made in legal form against them, and without any statement as to whether it is intended to bring them to trial or not. Meanwhile, Ireland waits for proof of the alleged pro-German plot. For the past three years, the British government and Sir Edward Carson have done the work of Germany in Ireland more effectively than any other agency that I know of. Three years ago, Ireland was in the war with as much enthusiasm as any of the allied nations, and has sent to the front a full proportion of her people compared to great Britain or to the dominions of the Crown, and Irish soldiers have been in the van of the battle, and at the post of danger on every one of the allied fronts. All that has been changed by what Mr. Lloyd George himself was obliged to describe, when Minister of War, as 'stupidity amounting to malignity' on the part of the war office and the government."

The party went down with its boots on. Possibly not during the bitter fight had there been reduced to writing a more severe and at the same time dignified indictment of England's

alleged double dealing in Ireland than the statement issued by the party after it became apparent that conscription would not be enforced. A meeting was held at 39 Upper O'Connell Street. The leaders present were: Messrs. Boland, Brady, Byrne, Clancy, Condon, Cosgrave, Crumley, Cullinan, Devlin, Dillon, Donnelly, Doris, Duffy, Capt. Esmonde, Farrell, Field, Ffrench, Fitzpatrick, Flavin, Gwynn, Hearn, Harbison, Hayden, Joyce, Kelly, Kennedy, Kilbride, M'Neill, M'Ghee, F. E. Meehan, P. J. Meehan, Malloy, Muldoon, Murphy, J. D. Nugent, O'Donnell, O'Dowd, O'Shaughnessy, O'Shee, Reedy, Scanlan, Sheehy, Smyth, White, Whitty.

Mr. Dillon presented the statement he had prepared, which was unanimously adopted. It is as follows:

"The clause in the Man-Power Act, giving power to the government to apply conscription to Ireland by Order in Council, was carried largely under the influence of an impression created by the statements of ministers that no attempt would be made to use the power until an Irish Parliament and a responsible Irish government had been called into existence.

"The frequent postponement of the introduction of the promised Home Rule bill, and the information which has leaked out as to the proceedings of the drafting committee, together with recent speeches of ministers, have confirmed us in the opinion that the government have not and had not, at the time of the recent debates on the Man-Power bill, any real intention of introducing or passing a Home Rule bill, such as would offer the slightest hope of a settlement of the Irish national demand.

"The latest developments are calculated to lead to the conviction that the government have no intention of producing any bill at all; and that all the promises made were uttered simply for the purpose of deceiving the House of Commons and the British public, and above all, for the purpose of deceiving the American government and the American people, and the allied European nations, and prejudicing the cause of Ireland in their eyes.

"While we absolutely adhere to our repeated declaration that no body has a right to impose conscription on the Irish nation except a Parliament freely elected by the Irish people, we desire to say any attempt to enforce conscription would be not only a gross outrage on the national right of Ireland, but a new and infamous breach of faith on the part of the British government—a proceeding which, had it been carried out by the German government, would be denounced in England as a peculiarly odious piece of Prussianism.

"Meanwhile, all the machinery of propaganda controlled by the British government has been set in motion to blacken the



DE VALERA (SEATED AND HATLESS) AT THE HISTORIC MEETING IN BALLAGHADERREEN WHERE HE ANNOUNCED HIS "NO COMPROMISE" DECISION AS TO PARTY UNITY. JOHN DILLON IS SPEAKING.

name of Ireland in America, and to prejudice the American people and the American government against the Irish nation.

"We feel it to be our duty, as the elected representatives of the Irish nation, to appeal most earnestly to the people of America and to the American government not to be deceived by these propagandist misrepresentations, but to listen to the statement of Ireland's case coming from Irishmen in sympathy with the national aspirations of the people of Ireland, and qualified to speak on behalf of the Irish nation.

"We beg of the American people and the American government, in memory of the bonds of sympathy which have existed between the American and the Irish nations ever since the foundation of the Republic, to urge upon their British allies the duty of immediately applying in the case of Ireland those principles of democratic freedom and national self-determination so magnificently set forth in the declarations of President Wilson, the benefit of which is denied to Ireland, while the Irish people are called on to fight for them in foreign lands."

But while holding Mr. Dillon in the highest esteem for his past work, the Irish nation opened its heart and embraced Sinn Féin, gladly.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GOVERNMENT'S CHARGE

ON the morning of Saturday, the 18th, knots of people could be seen in the principal cities of Ireland, reading the proclamation that was posted on bulletin boards. It was issued by Lord French, the new Lord-Lieutenant, and Edward Shortt, the new chief Secretary, and was as follows:

"By the Lord-Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

"FRENCH.

"WHEREAS, It has come to our knowledge that certain subjects of His Majesty, the King, domiciled in Ireland, have conspired to enter into, and have entered into, treasonable communication with the German enemy;

"AND WHEREAS, Such treachery is a menace to the fair fame of Ireland and its glorious military record, a record which is a source of intense pride to a country whose sons have always distinguished themselves and fought with such heroic valour in the past, in the same way as thousands of them are now fighting in this war;

"AND WHEREAS, Drastic measures must be taken to put down this German plot, which measures will be solely directed against that plot;

"NOW, THEREFORE, WE, THE LORD-LIEUTENANT GENERAL AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF IRELAND, have thought fit to issue this OUR PROCLAMATION declaring and it is hereby declared as follows:

"That it is the duty of all loyal subjects of his Majesty to assist in every way his Majesty's government in Ireland to suppress this treasonable conspiracy and to defeat the treacherous attempt of the Germans to defame the honour of Irishmen for their own ends.

"That we hereby call upon all loyal subjects of his Majesty in Ireland to aid in crushing the said conspiracy, and, so far as in them lies, to assist in securing the effective prosecution of the war and the welfare and safety of the Empire;

"That, as a means to this end, we shall cause still further steps to be taken to facilitate and encourage *voluntary enlistment* in Ireland in his Majesty's forces, in the hope that, *without resort to compulsion*, the contribution of Ireland to those forces may be brought up to its proper strength and made to correspond to the

contributions of other parts of the Empire.

"Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin this sixteenth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

"EDWARD SHORTT."

Beside this proclamation was pasted another one, signed by Sir Bryan Mahon, Commander of the Crown forces in Ireland, forbidding meetings and parades for thirty days. At the bottom was this line: "God Save the King."

Ireland's reply to the French proclamation was a loud guffaw, accompanied with the demand that the government produce its proofs, and the further demand that the arrested leaders be tried in Ireland.

A meeting of the defense conference was immediately called at the Mansion House, presided over by Lord Mayor O'Neill. After electing Professor Eoin MacNeill and Alderman Thomas Kelly to the vacancies on the conference caused by the arrest of De Valera and Griffith, the following statement was issued:

"The conference, speaking on behalf of every section of Irish Nationalists, condemns the deportation to England of our colleagues, Messrs. De Valera and Griffith, and their fellow-prisoners.

"We charge it is an attempt to discredit and disrupt Ireland's united resistance to conscription, and this upon the charge or allegation calculated to make a fair trial impossible for them in England, and to prejudice the cause of the Irish nation in friendly countries abroad.

"We assert the ancient constitutional right of Irishmen to be arraigned in their own country, and to be tried by their own countrymen; and we charge that the denial of that right is a violation of the first principles of justice and liberty, for the defense of which England claims the alliance of democratic nations.

"We deplore the attempt in the proclamation of Field Marshal French to poison the English mind against the Irish prisoners by the sensational allegation of 'a conspiracy in Ireland to enter into treasonable communication with the German enemy.'

"When Field Marshal French calls on the Irish people 'to assist the government in every way to crush this conspiracy,' all Nationalists must recall it is the habitual instrument of British government to blacken and assail Irish leaders in order to effectuate their own objects, and that charges of assassination were made against Charles Stewart Parnell by means of a forged letter published on the day when a perpetual Coercion Act for Ireland was passed through its second reading in 1887, and that this forgery was availed of by important members of the present min-

istry to justify such legislation to the world.

"The circumstances of the moment are trying, but we are strong in the confidence that our countrymen will continue to observe an imperturbable calmness, coupled with unshakable determination to be faithful at all hazards to the sacred pledge of national resistance to conscription, which practically the entire Irish nation have now taken.

"While standing steadfastly on our good right, we shall not cease to appeal to all friends of human freedom throughout the civilized world to inquire for themselves whether the present attempt to force civil war upon the Irish people on a transparently false pretext of military expediency does not really cover a wicked plot of English politicians to relieve themselves from their broken pledges to Ireland, in view of their profession that they have entered into a world war with the object of securing the right of self-determination for every other small nation in Europe."

The Irish press, with the exception of the Unionist papers, denounced the government roundly, ridiculed Lord French's proclamation and called upon the authorities immediately to produce convincing evidence of their charge or stand before the world branded as the instigators of another plot on the part of the government itself to injure Ireland in the eyes of the world. The *Evening Telegraph* of Monday, May 20, summed up the case against the government as follows:

"The government has proclaimed the existence of a German plot in Ireland and has simultaneously arrested and deported to 'somewhere in Great Britain' over one hundred leaders of the Sinn Fein movement. It is now up to the government to define the charges and supply the proofs. Till that is done, Irish Nationalists may be pardoned if, in view of their experience of the dishonourable methods of their British slave-drivers, they regard the latest coup as merely part of an organized conspiracy to defame Ireland and poison the mind of the civilized world against her claim to freedom. With memories of the Pigott forgeries and the infamous efforts made to destroy Parnell and the great movement which he founded, they not unnaturally regard with suspicion and disbelief charges well calculated to damn Ireland in the eyes of the American people.

"Nothing could be more calculated to discredit Irishmen, to injure the national cause, to alienate the sympathy of every liberty-loving nation, and to destroy the prospects of any appeal either to a Peace Conference or an Imperial conference, than to besmirch our people with the foul stain of association with any German intrigue. Such an intrigue would be treason to Ireland;



TWO VIEWS OF COUNTESS DE MARKIEVICZ, THE "JEANNE D'ARC" OF THE IRISH
AND HER PART IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1916

and it would involve a slander on our people. There may be a few reckless fanatics who would stoop to such a dishonourable alliance, but they would be repudiated by the great mass of the Irish people. It is freedom that Ireland is seeking, not a change of taskmasters; and if our national rights are to be restored, it will not be with the aid of the blood-stained arms of the butchers of Belgium.

"Germany has never shown herself the friend of small oppressed nationalities, and least of all since she inaugurated the dread world-conflict by the ruthless martyrdom of the gallant little nation she had pledged her honour to defend. Ireland's sympathies in this war are on the side of the principles on behalf of which America has unsheathed the sword, and it was only England's denial of the application of those principles to Ireland which transformed and perverted the splendid enthusiasm with which our people were already rushing to the support of the allied cause in the autumn of 1914. The influences that in those early days openly declared that they did not want 'too many Nationalist recruits,' because the accession of these recruits might help the Home Rule cause, have pursued their policy unceasingly, and unscrupulously, and the results are what everyone might have anticipated. The Irish people were disillusioned and discouraged and antagonized; but that does not mean that they are pro-Germans or that their sympathies are with the power that has trampled on freedom all over Europe, and which is seeking to establish a militarist hegemony over a prostrate Europe.

"If the British government has proofs of a German plot, it must produce them. Not to do so would be a tacit admission that the Viceregal proclamation was merely part of a cunning intrigue to poison the mind of all the allied countries, and particularly of America, against this small nationality, which, for the last 118 years, has been governed in accordance with the Prussian code against which the Allies, we are told, are waging determined warfare. The government has effected its coup with remarkable celerity and unquestioned success. Every man arrested is branded in the eyes of the outside world with the suspicion of guilty association with what the anti-Irish press describes as 'The Hun Conspiracy in Ireland.' 'We understand,' says the *Daily Mail* (London), 'that the government has conclusive evidence.' All the more reason is there why it should be tabled (brought out). But the Harmsworth organ, which seeks to impress on the world the suggestion that the government has 'conclusive evidence' also indicates that the men incriminated in this blackguard fashion are not to be put on trial, but to be kept in jail. This double infamy

it seeks to justify by an alleged analogy, which directly indicates that the purpose of the whole government scheme—a scheme by the way which Sir Edward Carson, who is not a member of the government, was able to foreshadow in a speech delivered on May 8—is to turn American opinion against Ireland. Referring to the wholesale arrests, the *Mail* says: ‘In the measures it (the new Irish executive) has taken, it has followed—though on a smaller scale—the precedent set by Abraham Lincoln, who, when dealing with sedition, swiftly and resolutely arrested many hundreds of dangerous persons and *kept them in prison without trial so long as the peril continued.*’

“The words in italics are printed as they appear in the *Daily Mail*. It approves of a similar policy in regard to the arrested Sinn Feiners, and describes this unadulterated Prussianism, as ‘muscular and determined action.’ There is a ring of brute force about the phrase. It indicates swash-buckling militarism riding roughshod over a helpless people whose enemies defile the national cause with a tar-brush dipped in the pitch of an alleged German plot.

“Whilst the *Mail* proclaims the policy of defaming Ireland and refusing a trial to those whom it assails and penalizes, its ‘Irish correspondent,’ writing in its news columns, remarks that ‘really sensible people urge that the government should give us some indication of the nature of the evidence that they possess of a plot with Germany.’ That is another way of saying that ‘really sensible people’ don’t believe that there is any such evidence. But in any case, what have ‘really sensible people’ got to do with the government of Ireland? They never have had anything to do with it; and it is not in the hour when madness reigns supreme their counsels will be listened to.

“We all know that, at the time of the Pigott forgeries, the government of that day had what the anti-Irish journals then declared to be ‘conclusive evidence’ against Parnell. They may have equally ‘conclusive’ evidence now. Until they produce their proofs, the Irish people may reasonably believe that the present charges have no better foundations than that supplied by the notorious Pigott at the *Times* commission.”

A section of the Tory press in England ferociously assailed the Irish leaders and declared that, instead of being given a trial, they should be shot. In Ireland the people, almost with a single voice, demanded that the proofs be given to the public forthwith if there were any proofs, and the government finally through the press bureau issued a formal statement.

A more careful reading of the government’s statement seemed

to fortify the Irish leaders in their opinion that the government didn't have any proof, since, for the most part, the French proclamation was a rehash of the evidence before the commission that investigated the Easter insurrection of 1916. Subsequently, when it became apparent that the government did not intend to place the prisoners on trial and produce the evidence it claimed to have against them, the free Ireland forces substituted ridicule for invective, and began shouting "Pigott" from one end of the land to the other.

A few days later Lord French announced the government's plan for trying voluntary recruiting in place of compulsion. It was an offer to Irish boys who would enlist for service of farm lands in Ireland on their return from the war. This produced another laugh. All they saw in this was an "ascendency plot." They said: "Sure, for every Irish lad they put on the land, they'll put ten thousand English lads."

The trouble was that there was nowhere among the Irish masses a single person who had any confidence in the government's pledges. That confidence had been utterly destroyed a long time before.

CHAPTER XXIX

ARRESTING THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS

ON the afternoon of the 17th of April a report was current in Dublin that the government was considering action of some sort. It was whispered about that wholesale arrests of the Sinn Fein leaders was in contemplation. This report was carried to the Sinn Fein headquarters, 6 Harcourt street, early that evening, where De Valera and others were in conference. There had been so many similar reports of late that De Valera did not take this one seriously and dismissed it from his mind.

It was not until about midnight that we in Dublin got the first inkling of what was taking place. The rumbling of motor lorries, manned by English soldiers and the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and converging in Dame Street, on the way to the Castle, told the story. It was not until the following morning, however, that the populace learned of the arrests which produced another convulsion of indescribable bitterness. Great headlines in the morning papers briefly summarized the story. Throughout Saturday and Sunday the big lorries rumbled over the cobblestone pavements transporting Irishmen to his majesty's jail. On Monday morning, the *Freeman's Journal* published the following summary:

"Arrests by the authorities of leading Sinn Feiners took place in various parts of Ireland on Friday night and Saturday morning. Though the government swoop came as a surprise, the people remained calm, and only one untoward incident was reported—at Skibbereen, where, in a scuffle with the police, one of the civilians, who was arrested, received a bullet wound. The last arrest reported was that of Mrs. Maud Gonne MacBride, which took place last night as she was going with her son to her residence in Merrion Square. Upwards of one hundred arrests were effected altogether, and seventy-three of the prisoners were shipped from Kingstown on Saturday evening. 'At Holyhead,' (Wales), writes the Press Association correspondent, 'I caught a glimpse of the company when they landed from a government boat. The countess was not at all careworn nor anxious in appearance, and walked along the pier with light step.' The Sinn Fein headquarters, in Harcourt Street, were raided by police, and some documents were seized, but no arrests were made there. Subsequently the premises were reopened, and a poster was exhibited outside, announcing 'Business as Usual.' The offices of



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GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT

IRISH REPUBLIC DELEGATE TO PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE BUT DIDN'T ARRIVE. ONE OF HIS SONS WAS SHOT AFTER THE EASTER INSURRECTION AND TWO OTHER SONS WERE SENTENCED TO PRISON. THE COUNT HIMSELF WAS DEPORTED AND THROWN INTO AN ENGLISH PRISON LAST YEAR. HE IS A VERY LEARNED MAN.

the National Aid Association were also raided and books and documents were removed."

It was estimated that altogether close on a hundred arrests were made on Friday night and Saturday in Dublin and the provinces. Those known to have been taken into custody were:

E. De Valera, M. P., President of Sinn Fein.

Arthur Griffith, Vice President of Sinn Fein.

Wm. Cosgrove, Sinn Fein, M. P., Kilkenny, and Hon. Treasurer of Sinn Fein.

Joseph M'Guinness, Sinn Fein, M. P., South Longford, and member Executive Committee, Sinn Fein.

Count Plunkett, Sinn Fein, M. P., North Roscommon.

Darrell Figgis, novelist, one of Hon. Secretaries Sinn Fein.

Countess Markievicz, member Sinn Fein Executive. Other Sinn Fein executives in the list were Dr. Thomas Dillon, Dr. Richard Hayes, Sean Milroy and Sean M'Entee. From Dublin there were Walter L. Cole, J. McGrath, Sean McGarry, Herbert Mellowes, Thomas Hunter, P. O'Keefe, Frank Fahy, J. K. O'Reilly, George A. Lyons, Frank Lawless, and Richard Coleman, Swords.

Arrests reported in the provinces were:

Denis M'Cullagh, Belfast; Tadhg Barry, Cork; Peter Deloughrey, T. C., Kilkenny; Peter Hughes and Joseph Berrils, Dundalk; Philip Monahan, Drogheda; George Nicholls, B. A., and Thomas Ruane, Galway City; Dr. Brian Cusack, Turloughmore, County Galway; Bernard Fallon, Loughrea; V. Travers, Gort; George Geraghty, Roscommon, Chairman, Town Commissioners; Colman O'Gaori, Rosmuck; Jos. MacBride and Ed. Moane, Westport; Stephen Jordan, Athenry; John Clancy, Secretary, Sligo County, Committee Agriculture, President of the Executive Sinn Fein alliance; Gerald O'Connell, Sligo; John O'Hurley, Athlone; T. M. Russell, M. C. C., Tullamore, President Sinn Fein Executive, North Kings County; Peadar O'Hourihane, Ted O'Driscoll, James O'Brien, Thomas Reidy, Fineen O'Sullivan, Stephen Barry and George Bohane, Skibbereen; Patrick Sugrue ("An Seabac"), Dingle; Michael Spillane, Commandant Killarney, Irish Volunteers; Daniel Dougherty, President Sinn Fein Club, Strabane; J. Dolan, Desmond Fitzgerald, John O'Mahony and Richard Daveys, Cavan; Brian O'Higgins, Carrigaholt, County Clare, and Frank Drohan, Clonmel.

The arrests of the Sinn Fein leaders in Dublin were mostly effected on Friday night. De Valera was arrested at Greystones railway station on his way to his home. He left Dublin by the 10:15 train, arriving at Bray at 11 o'clock. There he exchanged

into the train for Greystones. Head Constable Mulligan and other constables took seats in the same train, and, on arriving at Greystones, District Inspector Molony and Head Constable Mulligan placed De Valera under arrest. He was taken to the waiting room and searched, after which he was placed in a motor car and driven to Kingstown. There he was handed over to the military and placed on board the transport.

Shortly after midnight a number of detectives in plain clothes arrived at the residence of William Cosgrove, M. P., in James's Street, Dublin. The hall door was opened by Mr. Flynn, foreman of the licensed premises. One of the men asked Mr. Flynn was Mr. Cosgrove in, and Mr. Flynn replied that he was, but that he was in bed, not having been well for the past few days. Mr. Flynn asked the spokesman of the party his authority for entering the house, as he was in charge of the licensed premises and could not allow any person in without producing his authority. The inspector refused to produce any authority, and insisted on seeing Mr. Cosgrove. Mr. Flynn said he was in bed. The inspector said he would have to go to his bedroom. A friend who was in the house at the time, and Mr. Cosgrove, Councillor Cosgrove's uncle, then came forward. In the meantime eight detectives in plain clothes had entered the hall. The inspector repeated his wish to see Councillor Cosgrove, and his uncle went upstairs for him. Councillor Cosgrove came down to the hall after some time, dressed, and the detectives took him into custody. Before leaving the house it was suggested that Cosgrove should take a rug with him. He was escorted by the detectives to a **covered** military wagon in which there were a number of armed soldiers.

Madame Markievicz was arrested on Rathmines road while on her way home at Leinster road about 11 o'clock on Friday night. She had attended a meeting at the Sinn Fein headquarters in Harcourt street, and after leaving the meeting walked to the residence of Madame Gonne MacBride, at Stephen's Green. Later she proceeded on her homeward way to Rathmines. Madame had reached a point on Rathmines road near the entrance to Portobello barracks, when she was held up by six soldiers with whom were also two detectives. The arrest was effected rapidly. Madame was politely directed to wheel about and step into an armed motor car which the military had in readiness. She was accompanied by her inseparable companion, the dog which is almost as well known as she is herself. The animal, which has shown itself receptive to a certain kind of training, sat upon the seat of the motor car, and treated the military to a "turn" in the way of "straffing" England, a canine trick which caused much

amusement, even on such a serious occasion. The countess exhibited no surprise, remarking: "This is the new government making a beginning."

Dr. Dillon, a son-in-law of Count Plunkett, M. P., was at his residence, 13 Belgrave road, when he was taken into custody by members of the detective force. The arrest was effected shortly after 11 o'clock.

Darrell Figgis, Secretary of the Sinn Fein organization, was arrested shortly before midnight. He was at home in his flat at 24 Kildare Street when the police agents called. The arrest was effected quietly, Mr. Figgis merely asking for the authority and entering a protest. Mrs. Figgis accompanied him in the vehicle to the barracks.

Patrick O'Keefe, acting secretary of the Sinn Fein organization, was arrested at his residence, 21 Camden Street, Dublin, between 1 and 2 a. m., on Saturday. When the police entered the house, Mr. O'Keefe was in bed. A motor lorry in charge of some soldiers was drawn up on the street until Mr. O'Keefe was taken away to Ship street barracks.

About half-past two on Saturday morning, a number of detectives and some soldiers heavily armed presented themselves at the residence of Walter L. Cole, 3 Mountjoy Square, and were admitted to the house. They inquired for Mr. Cole, and were informed that he was in bed. Soldiers and police remained downstairs until Mr. Cole, having dressed in the meantime, put in an appearance. He was immediately placed under arrest, was conveyed to a military wagon which was in waiting, and in which were some other soldiers, and, like the others arrested, was conveyed to Ship street barracks.

Dr. Hayes was arrested shortly after midnight at his residence, Thomond House, South Circular road. A party of military accompanied by detectives took him into custody.

The detectives visited the residence of Joseph McGuinness, M. P., 41 Gardiner Street, about half-past twelve. They asked for Mr. McGuinness, and, on his making his appearance, he was quickly arrested, conveyed to a military wagon, which was in waiting in the vicinity, and driven to the barracks.

Count Plunkett, M. P., was arrested at Amiens Street station of the Great Northern Railway Company on Saturday evening as he alighted from the mail train which reached the terminus at 7 o'clock. The arrest was made by a plain clothes policeman, who conveyed him to a military motor which was in waiting. Count Plunkett was accompanied by his youngest son when he was taken into custody. He was immediately driven to

the Bridewell and the next day was removed to Arbor Hill barracks.

The arrest of Thomas Hunter took place at his lodgings, 2 Albert Terrace, Dollymount, about 12:30 on Saturday morning. He was taken to Ship street barracks.

Joseph MacBride, brother of the late Major MacBride, and Ed Moane were arrested early on Saturday morning, and handed over to the military, who took them by early train from Westport. MacBride was in Reading jail with Griffith and Figgis. Moane had been imprisoned recently for drilling Volunteers.

Frank Lawless, D. C., an extensive farmer, was arrested on Saturday at his residence, Saucerstown, Swords, by a force of about thirty police, drawn from districts in North County Dublin, and conveyed by a motor lorry, driven by military, to Dublin. The police, who effected an entrance by bursting in the back door, remained on the premises from 2 a. m. to 5 a. m., and searched them thoroughly, but the result, if any, of their quest, did not transpire. Mr. Lawless was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in connection with the rising of 1916.

Richard Coleman, insurance agent, Main Street, Swords, also was arrested in his house, the door being battered in with a sledge hammer. He was brought in a separate motor lorry to the city. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in connection with the rising, and, with Mr. Lawless, was released on the general amnesty being granted.

The Cavan correspondent wired on Saturday: "In the early hours of this morning, the military effected the arrest of the following members of the Sinn Fein organization who have been engaged in election work in East Cavan: Desmond Fitzgerald, 'Dolan, John O'Mahony, and Richard Daveys."

Philip Monahan was arrested in Drogheda. He was president of the local Sinn Fein club.

Peter Hughes, chairman of the Dundalk Urban Council and President of the North Louth Sinn Fein Executive, and Joseph Berrills, Williamson's place, were taken by the police and conveyed to Dublin. They were taken to the station in a military motor, escorted by soldiers.

Michael Fleming, Tralee, who recently had been released from prison for drilling, was arrested by a large force of constabulary, when a search was made for arms and none found. P. J. Cahill was not at home, when the police called about the same hour. "The Seabhag" (Patrick Sugrue), Irish teacher, Dingle, who had been released only a week for drilling, was arrested on the train in Dingle. Several other arrests were made throughout the



ARTHUR GRIFFITH

FOUNDER OF SINN FEIN AND DE VALERA'S RIGHT HAND MAN. HE IS
AN ABLE WRITER.

County Kerry.

W. J. Brennan, Whitmore, who since his liberation from Frongoch had represented the *Enniscorthy Echo* in Gorey, was arrested by a force of police under District Inspector Lea Wilson and a number of military at the house of Myles Travers, 38 Main Street, where he lodged. The arrest was effected quietly. Owing to the early hour, there was no one around, and it was not till about 7 o'clock that the general public learned of the arrest. The prisoner was taken under military escort to Dublin.

The Cashel police nabbed Pierce M'Cann, son of Francis M'Cann, J. P., Ballyowen House, Cashel. He was managing his father's farm, and was president of the East Tipperary Sinn Fein Executive. He was arrested after the 1916 rebellion and interned in England.

Peter Deloughry, T. C., Treasurer of St. Mary's Branch National Defense Fund, was arrested in Kilkenny under the Defense of the Realm Act. No charge was made against him. He was brought to the police barracks after his arrest and shortly after midnight was motored to the military barracks, where he was detained overnight. He was conveyed under strong military and police escort to the railway station on Saturday morning and removed to Dublin in the custody of the police. About 2 a. m., his house was visited by a body of police and a search made for arms or incriminating documents, but none was found. The residence of T. Treacy, Irish Volunteer Captain, Dean Street, also was visited by the police with a view to his arrest, but Mr. Treacy was not found. Both Deloughry and Treacy were amongst the Kilkenny prisoners arrested after Easter week, and were kept in detention for some months.

About 10 o'clock on Friday night, George Geraghty, Chairman of Roscommon Town Commissioners, was arrested by the police. No charge was made against him. It was supposed that the arrest was in connection with a speech made by him at a meeting protesting against conscription, held about a month previous. Geraghty, who recently had been married, was conveyed to Dublin by motor. He was interned in Frongoch with other prisoners from Roscommon after the rising in Dublin, in Easter Week, 1916. He was president of the Roscommon Sinn Fein Executive.

The Galway correspondent telegraphed: "A sensation was caused in Galway city and county by the arrests of the following Sinn Fein leaders: George Nicolls, B. A., solicitor, editor, *Galway Express*; Dr. Brian Cusack, medical officer, Turloughmore; Thomas Ruane, Chairman Galway District Council; Colman O'Gaori, Gaelic League Organizer, Rosmuck; Stephen Jordan,

Athenry, Secretary County Galway Board, Gaelic Athletic Association, and M. V. Trayers, Gort. The arrests were effected during the early hours of Saturday morning, and the parties removed to the military barracks, Galway. Nicolls was twice interned in England. Messrs. Ruane, Jordan and Trayers were arrested after the rising in 1916. O'Gaori had been arrested recently for singing 'seditious' songs and released on bail."

Tadhg Barry, a local Sinn Feiner, was arrested at his home, Blarney Street, Cork. Later he was handed over to the military authorities and, under armed escort, subsequently taken away by train.

T. M. Russell, M. C. C., Ballyduff House, Tullamore, was arrested at half-past twelve o'clock on Saturday morning, at his home, which was surrounded by military and police. Mr. Russell was conveyed to Tullamore prison by the military, who detained him there until the afternoon, when he was conveyed to Dublin. It was about 4:30 a. m. on Saturday when the military, accompanied by a large body of local police, surrounded the houses of J. J. Clancy and Gerald O'Connell, in Sligo, and arrested them. Both were taken to the military barracks, and were subsequently taken under heavy escort to Dublin.

A party of soldiers surrounded the house in Athlone of John O'Hurly of the Irish Volunteers, and effected his arrest. O'Hurly, who is a native of Cork, and was locally employed, was a frequent speaker at Sinn Fein meetings. He and George Geraghty, Chairman of Roscommon Town Commissioners, were removed by morning train to Dublin.

Gerald Boland, aged about thirty, a member of the Sinn Fein Organization, and brother of Harry Boland, the well known member of the Executive, was arrested at his residence at Crooksling, near Brittas, on a drilling charge. He was brought, handcuffed, under a heavy escort, in a military wagon to Dublin, and was lodged in the Bridewell. Boland was in bed at the time of his arrest. He participated actively in the Easter rising of 1916, and was one of those deported to England. He was a married man with a family.

Denis McCullagh and John McEntee, two prominent Sinn Feiners, were taken to the military headquarters.

Charles Collins and Christopher Mullins, stated to belong to the working class—one of them being an employe of the Dublin Corporation—were arrested at Brittas, County Dublin. When passing along the highway they were challenged by the Royal Irish Constabulary, who conveyed them to the neighboring police station. On being searched, it is alleged that a quantity of gelignite

was found in their possession. The prisoners were subsequently removed in a military motor van, under escort, to the Dublin Metropolitan Police Bridewell.

Some of the leaders taken in the first raid and their political records were:

EAMONN DE VALERA, M. P., had been unanimously elected leader of the Sinn Fein organization. He was released from gaol in England, where he was imprisoned on a life sentence for participating in the Easter rising, at the time of the general amnesty. He was a member of the Mansion House Conference on conscription, which had not yet concluded its deliberations. He was elected as member for East Clare shortly after the election of Count Plunkett for the Roscommon vacancy, and was generally looked upon as the most formidable of the Sinn Fein leaders.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH was the Sinn Fein candidate for the Parliamentary vacancy in East Cavan. He was the editor of the Sinn Fein organ, *Nationality*, and has often been alluded to as the "Father of Sinn Fein." His journal was devoted weekly to political articles, and generally contained a leading article from his own pen. Griffith was also a member of the Mansion House Conference, and his recent action in pressing for a contest in East Cavan had provoked much hostile criticism in the section of the Irish press devoted to the interests of the Irish party.

JOSEPH MCGUINNESS, M. P., represented South Longford as a Sinn Feiner, having been elected while in gaol. He was sent to prison in England after the Sinn Fein rebellion in 1916, and was released with the other prisoners at the time of the general amnesty granted by the government before the sitting of the Irish Convention.

MADAME MARKIEVICZ is one of the best known of the Sinn Fein leaders. She led the insurgent force which occupied the College of Surgeons, Stephen's Green, during the Easter Week rebellion, and received a life sentence for her part in the outbreak. She was released at the time of the general amnesty, and had since been prominent upon Sinn Fein platforms throughout the country, her speeches being of a somewhat violent character.

DARRELL FIGGIS (a Protestant) was sentenced to prison after the Sinn Fein insurrection in 1916, and upon his release had been present occasionally upon Sinn Fein election platforms. He was a writer of ability and had recently published a book relating his prison experiences. He was also a writer of verse, and in his early life was a prolific contributor of poetry to the leading English periodicals. Mr. Figgis was prominently identified with the Howth gun-running affair in the summer of 1916. He was at

Bachelor's Walk. He had been in residence at Achill for a considerable period, and it was thought that his views did not coincide with those of the Sinn Feiners, until after his imprisonment, when he ranged himself definitely upon the side of the extremists.

WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE, M. P., was the Sinn Fein member for Kilkenny City. He took an active part in the Sinn Fein rebellion in 1916, and had taken a prominent part of late in the furtherance of the Sinn Fein cause throughout the country. He was also chairman of the Finance Committee of the Dublin Corporation.

SEAN MILROY was the Sinn Fein candidate for East Tyrone Parliamentary vacancy. He was defeated there by the Irish Party candidate, Thomas Harbison.

SEAN M'ENTEE had also taken an active part in the recent election campaigns on the Sinn Fein side, and was an acknowledged leader of the Belfast Sinn Feiners.

DENIS McCULLAGH was another prominent Belfast Sinn Feiner. He was in Belfast at the time of his arrest. He was looked upon as a tower of strength in the Sinn Fein movement in the North.

SEAN MCGARRY was sentenced to imprisonment in 1916 for his part in the Sinn Fein rebellion. He had published verse and was a scholar of no mean ability. Mr. M'Garry delivered an oration over the body of the late Thomas Ashe, during the lying-in-state in the City Hall, Dublin.

W. L. COLE had also been an active worker for Sinn Fein in the provinces, and had appeared on election platforms. Although he was not perhaps as well known as the other leaders, his arrest had not been altogether unexpected. He was an ex-Alderman of the Dublin Corporation, and resided in Dublin.

THOMAS DILLON was a teacher at the University College, Dublin, and had been prominently identified with the Sinn Fein movement.

RICHARD HAYES was sentenced to a term of imprisonment in connection with the Sinn Fein rebellion. He was the leader of a rebel force in the Swords district, where there was severe fighting.

During the morning and early afternoon of Monday, the 20th, small groups gathered in the vicinity of Dame Street on the lookout for the arrival or departure of prisoners by the gate of the Lower Castle Yard.

The new Chief Secretary, Mr. Shortt, clad in a summer suit of gray tweed, and smoking a cigarette, motored through Dame Street in the afternoon but was not recognized by the infuriated populace.

The following further Sinn Fein arrests were made on the 22nd: Mrs. Thomas Clarke, Fairview, Dublin; J. Etchingham, Courtown Harbour, Gorey; M. J. Lennon, Dublin, and John Corcoran and Thomas Ruane, County Mayo.

MRS. CLARKE was the widow of Thomas Clarke, and sister of Edward Daly, both of whom were executed after the rebellion of 1916, and niece of the late John Daly of Limerick, who underwent a long term of imprisonment in connection with alleged participation in the dynamite conspiracy in England. She was arrested at her house, and conveyed in a motor wagon to Arbour Hill Barracks under armed guard. She had five young children at the time. They were placed in the care of Mrs. Sean M'Garry, whose husband was arrested on the premises Friday and deported. Mrs. Clarke was a member of the Sinn Fein Executive.

MR. ETCHINGHAM was sentenced to five years' penal servitude after the rising. He was arrested at midnight on Tuesday, having just returned from a Sinn Fein organizing tour in Wicklow, and was only gone to bed when the police visited his sister's house, where he was staying.

MR. LENNON, a Dublin Corporation clerk and editor of *Young Ireland*, was apprehended by Detective Sergeant Barton and another detective near his residence at Longwood avenue, and taken to the Bridewell. He had only recently been released from jail, where he was serving a term for a speech at Marysborough. At his trial he would speak Irish only. He was interned at Frongoch after the rebellion.

P. H. BURKE was an ex-inland revenue officer. He was deported after the rebellion from the North of Ireland, where he was prominently associated with the Volunteer movement. After his return he took up the study of medicine in Dublin.

MADAM MAUD GONNE MACBRIDE was arrested on her way home. She had been visiting in Merrion square, and apparently her movements had been watched. Four detectives met her as she was passing along the west side of the square accompanied by her son, on her way to a residence in St. Stephen's Green. The detectives surrounded her and informed her of the order for her arrest. She was brought to the police station in the Castle. Her son was allowed to accompany her to the station and remained there with her for a little while.

Seventy-three of the Sinn Fein prisoners, including De Valera, Griffith, Cosgrove and Countess Markievicz, were taken to Kingstown on Saturday morning, the 18th, and placed on board an auxiliary cruiser. The vessel left Kingstown at 6 o'clock that same evening. A large crowd of sympathizers cheered loudly as

she steamed out of the harbour.

Between midnight and 4 o'clock Saturday morning fifty-one prisoners were placed on board the vessel and twenty-two others during the day. Large crowds cheered their arrival, and the prisoners acknowledged the demonstration.

Shortly after midnight, residents of Kingstown were aroused by the noise of passing motor wagons and the hooting of the horns of these vehicles. Pedestrians going to their homes in the early hours were surprised on seeing army locomotives driving along at a high speed and were mystified as to the cause. It was only when they read the morning newspapers that they learned that the unusual activity was due to the transference of Sinn Fein prisoners from Dublin to be placed on board a vessel lying in the harbour.

From midnight until 5 o'clock what seemed an incessant passing of motors continued. These vehicles generally traveled in threes when making their journeys. The first car, as a rule, displayed a little light. The second, which had no light, contained the prisoners, and the third had a brilliant flare, casting its light on the preceding car.

The authorities refused to divulge the names of the prisoners. The wharf was under the control of the admiralty. Several hundred soldiers took up their stations there during the morning.

When the presence of the prisoners became known, men, women and children to the number of several hundred congregated on the balcony outside the railway station, along the Queen's Road, and outside the wharf. There was no demonstration, but all were eagerly discussing this latest move on the part of the government. About 11 o'clock, owing to the very large crowd which had gathered on the railway balcony, orders were given that it should be cleared, and the order was carried out. There was no disturbance. A couple of hours later, the police removed people who were standing on the wharf.

At about 12:45 o'clock, two prisoners from the country, in charge of Royal Irish constabulary men and under a military escort, arrived in motor cars. On alighting they were taken to a small boat, and subsequently placed on board the vessel.

The crowd on the Queen's road was quickly augmented when the rumour spread that additional prisoners were expected by special train. Several thousand had congregated on the roads overlooking the wharf by 3 o'clock. Then the military took possession of Kingstown railway station. Soldiers with fixed bayonets were placed at the entrances, and no unauthorized person was allowed to remain on the local platform. Even some of the rail-

way officials were directed to leave this portion of the station. From the parcel office entrance to the Victoria Wharf, a cordon of soldiers with fixed bayonets was drawn across the road.

Great confusion was occasioned at about 3:15 o'clock, when passengers, who had alighted at Kingstown from a Westland Row to Bray train, were not allowed out of the station by the soldiers, nor would those who desired to join the train be allowed in. Amongst those held up was a well known naval chaplain.

At 3:30 o'clock a special train from the Midlands ran into the local platform, and ten prisoners, under a strong escort of soldiers and about half a dozen Royal Irish constabulary, alighted. They were immediately marched to the wharf. On leaving the station, some of the prisoners, Desmond Fitzgerald, John O'Mahony, and others, were recognized. The crowd loudly cheered them, and there were shouts of "Up the Rebels." Hats and sticks were waved. The military seemed surprised, but the prisoners smiled and several raised their hats in acknowledgment of the cheering.

About the same time, two large army motor wagons, with soldiers, came swiftly down the Royal Marine road and passed through the people to the wharf. Three prisoners were taken from these vehicles. They also were cheered. In the meantime, the passengers who had been held up in the railway station were allowed to go.

There ensued a lull until shortly after 5 o'clock, when two more motor wagons were seen coming down the Royal Marine road. Surmising that these also contained prisoners, the crowd gave vent to a much greater demonstration than before. Cheer after cheer was given. Hats, sticks and handkerchiefs were waved aloft. Amongst those present were Mrs. Darrell Figgis and Mrs. Desmond Fitzgerald. When the wagons were stopped on the wharf and the prisoners alighted, the people again cheered lustily. The prisoners took off their hats and waved them about their heads. They were marched on board the transport.

The proceedings were now getting a bit lively, and a group of young men and girls commenced to sing the "Soldier's Song." As it was about to be taken up by the crowd, the police dispersed the group and stopped the continuance of the song.

Preparations were now made for the departure of the vessel, and it was seen that she was about to sail. At 5:45 o'clock she left the wharf, the crowd cheering and singing. Several hundred people had assembled on the point of the West Pier of the harbour, and, as the steamer passed out to sea, they also gave it a hearty send off.

The cheering was by way of expressing to the prisoners the pride the masses had for men who were going to jail for Ireland's sake. There were no tears—only cheers for the "martyrs" and hate for the government.

Mrs. Maud Gonne MacBride was deported a few nights later. She was taken under armed escort to Kingstown and placed on the mail boat sailing for Holyhead.

She arrived at the Carlisle Pier in an army motor wagon, and under an escort of eight soldiers. Her arrival was witnessed by a small crowd of women, young girls and children, who, when they saw the stately prisoner, rushed towards her and cheered. Mrs. MacBride was marched quickly to the pier, surrounded by the escort in charge of an officer. Her portemanteau was carried by a soldier. As she walked up the pier, accompanied by the armed guard, she was the center of attraction to the passengers who were traveling by the mail boat. She was attired in a black dress, with a long, flowing veil, and smiled defiantly above the soldiers as they passed. She was a striking-looking prisoner.

Another batch of the "rebels" was put on a steamer at the North Wall. Several military motors, accompanied by a strong armed guard, drove to the dock, and, on arrival at the premises of the London and North Western Company it was seen that the vehicles contained some sixteen civilian prisoners. The most prominent figure, easily recognized by the few at the port who witnessed the incident, was Count Plunkett. With the least possible delay the party were conducted on board a L. N. W. R. goods and cargo steamer which shortly afterwards sailed for Holyhead. The arrival of the party and the deportation were so unexpected and carried out so quietly that very few people even at the North Wall quays were aware of what had taken place until after the steamer had left the Liffey.

Mrs. Clarke was in a party of five who were deported shortly afterward. They were conveyed in an army motor wagon from Arbour Hill to Kingstown, accompanied by an armed guard. The prisoners' arrival was unexpected and few spectators witnessed it. The male prisoners helped Mrs. Clarke to alight from the wagon, then formed in twos about her, and, escorted by the guard, marched along the pier to the mail boat. There was no demonstration. Subsequently, Mrs. Desmond Fitzgerald and two other ladies arrived and saw the mail boat depart.

A curtain dropped down over Dublin. The relatives of the deported "martyrs" were at first refused information as to their destination, or whether they were to be taken to the Tower in London for execution. One such report was current. The au-

thorities lifted the veil slightly in a few days and permitted the publication of the press dispatches from England. The first news from the Void told of the landing in England.

The special correspondent of the *Daily Sketch*, writing at Holyhead, forwarded the following:

"Forty-six of the arrested Sinn Fein leaders, who were brought to Holyhead on Saturday night, alighted about 9:30 at a quiet spot at the end of the harbour unobserved, each prisoner being in charge of an escort with fixed bayonet. All except Countess Markievicz, the only woman of the party, immediately entered an awaiting pontoon, which hurried them across the harbour to the soldiers' rest camp, where they remained in custody under a strong guard. The countess was very quickly conveyed to the Holyhead Police station. Shortly before 11 o'clock yesterday, the countess, accompanied by Police Superintendent Protheroe, left the station and walked unnoticed to the Holyhead station. Here she entered a first-class corridor compartment on the mail train which proceeded to the Admiralty Pier to meet the Irish mail boat at noon. Accompanying here in the carriage was an officer and the matron of the Station Rest Camp for Soldiers and Sailors, whilst in the adjoining carriage was an armed guard. The countess departed for London shortly before 1 o'clock. The other prisoners, it is understood, leave today 'for an unknown destination.' The countess arrived at Euston last evening, and was quickly driven off in a closed taxicab to Holloway Prison. While the cab was being got ready she was busy waving smiling farewells to her sister and several friends on the platform. The sister stated that the countess went off in great spirits."

Then came through the following London dispatch:

"The three ladies arrested, it is supposed, under Lord French's proclamation, are confined in Holloway Prison. They are the Countess Markievicz, Mrs. Thomas J. Clarke, and Madame Gonne MacBride. The prisoners are allowed to meet and converse every day. They are, however, not allowed to receive visitors and will not be given letters addressed to them. Their diet is the Food Controller's rations. They may receive parcels in which there is no written matter, but no article of food that is rationed in England will be allowed to be given through parcels or otherwise."

Subsequently letters were forwarded by the authorities from the prisoners in which they stated briefly that they were in good health.

Back home in Erin a great tidal wave was sweeping over the land on which Sinn Fein was riding to a historic triumph.

CHAPTER XXX

FATHER O'FLANAGAN

FATHER MICHAEL O'FLANAGAN was the one official of Sinn Fein the government did not seek to arrest. It sent word to the authorities to make an exception in his case alone. In Ireland it was understood that the government, which was a bit fearful lest the "No Popery" campaign would react against it, thought it best not to strike directly at the hierarchy by imprisoning one of the people's idols who wore the Roman collar. The government, however, did issue an order that nothing Father O'Flanagan might say should be allowed to be sent out of Ireland. Father O'Flanagan and Arthur Griffith were the two vice presidents of the Sinn Fein organization, and O'Flanagan was the only high official of the party still at large in Ireland and not "on the run." He proceeded immediately to take the stump in the East Cavan election and to lay down the principles of Sinn Fein in reply to the government's charge of another German plot. In a famous speech at Ballyjamesduff he said:

"Coming along here today I had an opportunity of seeing one of the spots in Ireland that I have long desired most ardently to see, and although I had to run the risk of being a bit late for your meeting, I went a few miles out of the direct route in order to stand upon the Bridge of Finea. I said to myself that if I wanted to find a way to the hearts of the people of Cavan, the best preparation I could make would be to spend a few moments communing with the souls of that heroic band of Cavan men that fought and died, with Miles the Slasher, to save the Irish army from destruction. And as I stood for a few moments on the bridge today, I thought of how, when the sword of the enemy was driven to the cheek of Miles O'Reilly, he gripped the blade between his teeth and held it there as in a vice, until he had slain his opponent, and then I said to myself: 'You are going to address the men of a country in whose veins flow the blood of Miles O'Reilly, and whose hearts are full with the spirit and the courage of Miles O'Reilly, and if you cannot get them to stand in this new Gap of Danger, this new Bridge of Finea, the fault will be yours, and not theirs.'

"England has undertaken a new offensive against us. She has started out by attempting to fill the whole earth with a poison cloud of misrepresentation and lies. She wants to prevent our

movement from being understood in foreign countries. They call us pro-German, because they can no longer get it recognized abroad as a crime to be pro-Irish. In the old days they called us 'wild Irish' and 'mere Irish,' and said we were unable to rule ourselves, but now, that our people are scattered and known throughout so many lands and when it is known wherever they go that their qualities of citizenship are second to none, they can no longer get us condemned because we are pro-Irish; hence they say we are pro-German. They say that it is Germany we love, and not Ireland. They say that the source of our inspiration comes from the banks of the Rhine, and not from the banks of the Shannon. They say that our national hero is Prince Bismarck, and not Robert Emmet. We know that people are easily fooled, but they can hardly be so easily fooled as that.

"The quarrel between England and Germany began less than four years ago; the fight between England and Ireland began seven hundred and fifty years ago. The quarrel between England and Germany is a quarrel about commerce, about coalpits, and oil-fields, and trade routes. It will probably be all settled in a few years and the blood relations that fill the two royal houses will again clink their champagne glasses over the graves of millions of the choicest flower of the manhood of both races. But the quarrel between England and Ireland is a quarrel for the very life of the Irish nation. It is a quarrel that can only end either in the death of Irish Nationality, or the total separation of Ireland from England.

"Our crime is not that we are pro-German, but that we are pro-Irish. It is not because they are pro-Germans that Griffith and De Valera are exiled and interned in England, but because of the far greater crime of being so Irish. But, unfortunately, England cannot call our crime by its true name without confessing the hypocrisy of her claim to be the friend of national freedom. We are pro-Germans in the sense that we and Germany have a common enemy. We are pro-Germans in the sense in which Robert Emmet was pro-French.

"England's war is not Ireland's war. England's enemies are not Ireland's enemies. As a separate and distinct nation, we claim the right to choose our own friends, and our own enemies, as freely as any other nation. We have no fear of being misunderstood in foreign countries. They may stifle my voice, by keeping me out of the papers, by shutting me up in jail with the other chosen leaders of our race, or even by murdering me as they murdered so many who have gone before, but they cannot stifle the

voice of the electors of Cavan when they record their vote for Arthur Griffith, the man who has done so much to keep alive in our day the glorious traditions of Ireland a nation."

It is worthy of note, in passing, that here was the scholarly Catholic priest patriot placing before them the spirit of Emmet—Emmet the Protestant—as their patriotic guide.

CHAPTER XXXI

RUSSELL'S NOBLE REPLY TO KIPLING

RUDYARD KIPLING joined the assault on the Irish leaders. He accepted the government's charge of another German plot, though an *ex parte* statement, as convincing as far as he was concerned, and wrote a poem, excoriating Catholic Ireland. George Russell ("AE") replied in what was his finest style, and what must go down in history as among the noblest *pro patria* orations of all time. His letter to Kipling follows:

"Dear Sir: I speak to you, brother, because you have spoken to me, or rather, you have spoken for me. I am a native of Ulster. So far back as I can trace the faith of my forefathers, they have held the faith for whose free observance you are afraid.

"You have Irish blood in you. I have heard, indeed, Ireland is your mother's land, and you may, perhaps, have some knowledge of Irish sentiment. You have offended against one of our noblest literary traditions in the manner in which you have published your thoughts. You begin by quoting Scripture. You preface your verses on Ulster by words from the mysterious oracles of humanity, as if you had been inflamed and inspired by the prophet of God, and you go on to sing of faith in peril and patriotism betrayed and the danger of death and oppression by those 'who murder by night,' which things, if one truly feels, he speaks of without consideration of commerce or what it shall profit him to speak.

"But you, brother, have withheld your fears for your country and mine until they could yield you a profit in two continents. After all this high speech about the Lord and the hour of national darkness, it shocks me to find this following your verses: 'Copyrighted in the United States of America by Rudyard Kipling.' You are not in want. You are the most successful man of letters of your time, and yet you are not above taking profits out of the perils of your country.

"I would not reason with you, but that I know there is something truly great and noble in you, and there have been hours when the immortal in you secured your immortality in literature, when you ceased to see life with that hard cinematograph eye of yours, and saw with the eyes of the spirit, and power and tenderness and insight were mixed in magical tales. Surely you were far from the innermost when for the first time, I think, you wrote of your

mother's land and my countrymen.

"I have lived all my life in Ireland, holding a different faith from that held by the majority. I know Ireland as few Irishmen know it, county by county, for I traveled all over Ireland for years, and, Ulster man as I am, and proud of the Ulster people, I resent the crowning of Ulster with all the virtues and the dismissal of other Irishmen as 'thieves and robbers.' I resent the cruelty with which you, a stranger, speak of the most lovable and kindly people I know.

"You are not even accurate in your history when you speak of Ulster's traditions and the blood our forefathers spilt. Over a century ago, Ulster was the strong and fast place of rebellion, and it was in Ulster that the volunteers stood beside their cannon and wrung the gift of political freedom for the Irish parliament. You are blundering in your blame. You speak of Irish greed, and in I know not what connection, unless you speak of the war waged over the land; and yet you ought to know that both parties in England have by act after act confessed the absolute justice and rightness of that agitation, Unionist no less than Liberal, and both boast of their share in answering the Irish appeal. They are both proud today of what they did. They made inquiry into wrong and redressed it.

"But you, it seems, can only feel angry that intolerable conditions imposed by your laws were not borne in patience and silence. For what party do you speak? When an Irishman has a grievance, you smite him. How differently would you have written of Runnymede and the valiant men of England who rebelled whenever they thought fit. You would have made heroes out of them. . . . Have you no soul left, after admiring the rebels in your own history, to sympathize with other rebels suffering deeper wrongs? Can you not see deeper into the motives for rebellion than the hireling reporter who is sent to makeup a case for the paper or a party?

"The best in Ulster, the best Unionists in Ireland, will not be grateful to you for libelling their countrymen in your verse. For, let the truth be known, the mass of Irish Unionists are much more in love with Ireland than with England. They think Irish Nationalists are mistaken, and they fight with them, and they use hard words, and all the time they believe Irishmen of any party are better in the sight of God than Englishmen. They think Ireland is the best country in the world, and they hate to hear Irish people spoken of as 'murderers and greedy scoundrels.'

"Murderers! Why, there is more murder done in any four English shires in a year than in the whole of the four provinces



EDWARD F. DUNNE (CHICAGO)

ONE OF IRISH-AMERICAN DELEGATES TO PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE.

of Ireland. Greedy! The nation never accepted a bribe, or took it as an equivalent or payment for an ideal, and what bribe would not have been offered to Ireland, if it had been willing to forswear its traditions?

"I am a person whose whole being goes into a blaze at the thought of oppression of faith, and yet I think my Catholic countrymen infinitely more tolerant than those who hold the faith I was born in. I am a heretic judged by their standards, a heretic who has written and made public his heresies, and I have never suffered in friendship or found by my heresies an obstacle in life.

"I set my knowledge, the knowledge of a lifetime, against your ignorance, and I say you have used your genius to do Ireland and its people a wrong. You have intervened in a quarrel of which you do not know the merits, like any brawling bully who passes and only takes sides to use his strength. If there was a high court of poetry, and those in power jealous of the noble name of poet, and that none should use it save those who were truly knights of the Holy Ghost, they would hack the golden spurs from your heels and turn you out of the court.

"You had the ear of the world, and you poisoned it with prejudice and ignorance. You had the power of song, and you have always used it on behalf of the strong against the weak. You have smitten with all your might at creatures who are frail on earth but mighty in the heavens, at generosity, at truth, at justice, and heaven has withheld vision and power and beauty from you, for this your verse is only a shallow newspaper article made to rhyme."

CHAPTER XXXII

THE GAEL IN THE DOCK

IRELAND'S martyrs to the cause of freedom always have distinguished themselves in the dock. In the presence of the gallows they yet have maintained their proud spirits and defied *His Majesty the King* with their last breath. This spirit came down through the generations and it flared up now among the young "rebels" who derived their inspiration from De Valera and Pearse and Connolly and their associates.

With the leaders packed off to English prisons the government laid more heavily the stern arm of the military on their sympathizers and active supporters. Jails in Ireland began to fill up. Mere boys were haled to court for drilling in the fields and hills at night. Homes were raided all over the island in search of arms and ammunition. Clashes with the police and the military, as well as with paid informers, were frequent.

Military rule, already so distasteful and irksome, was tightening. Soldiers were everywhere—soldiers of the king. Their presence inflamed the youth of Ireland. The young Sinn Feiners and Nationalists bore themselves in accordance with the traditions when they were arraigned before the magistrates on charges of all kinds.

They refused to plead. They refused to answer questions. Their crowning defiance was their refusal to remove their hats in the presence of *His Majesty's* court officials. Instead they smiled. It was a sneer. They refused to recognize the right of an English-supported court of law in Ireland.

They, by a concerted plan, finally made one statement. It was:

"Nil meas madrad agam ar an gcúirt seo."

Even the youthful "rebels" were educated, oftentimes to the confusion of *His Majesty's* court attaches. On being asked what they meant they only repeated: *"Nil meas madrad agam ar an gcúirt seo."*

Which being interpreted is:

"I haven't a dog's respect for this court."

CHAPTER XXXIII

DECEMBER FOURTEENTH

IRELAND'S answer to conscription and deportation was formally made on the succeeding election day, December 14, 1918. It was: Self-Determination. Out of 105 Parliamentary divisions in all Ireland Sinn Fein carried seventy-three, on the platform of complete separation from England. The issue was made unequivocal. The Sinn Fein official manifesto on which the people were asked to express themselves with their ballots was as follows:

"The coming general election is fraught with vital possibilities for the future of our Nation. Ireland is faced with the question whether this generation wills it that she is to march out into the full sunlight of freedom, or is to remain in the shadow of a base imperialism that has brought and ever will bring in its train naught but evil for our race. Sinn Fein gives Ireland the opportunity of vindicating her honor and pursuing with renewed confidence the path of national salvation by rallying to the flag of the Irish Republic.

"Sinn Fein aims at securing the establishment of that Republic: First, by withdrawing the Irish representation from the British Parliament and by denying the right and opposing the will of the British government or any other foreign government to legislate for Ireland.

"Second, by making use of any and every means available to render impotent the power of England to hold Ireland in subjection by military force or otherwise.

"Third, by the establishment of a Constituent Assembly comprising persons chosen by Irish constituencies as the supreme national authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people, and to develop Ireland's social, political and industrial life for the welfare of the whole people of Ireland.

"Fourth, by appealing to the Peace Conference for the establishment of Ireland as an independent nation. At that conference the future of the nations of the world will be settled on the principle of government by the consent of the governed. Ireland's claim to the application of that principle in her favor is not based on any accidental situation arising out of the war. It is older than many, if not all of the present belligerents. It is based on our unbroken tradition of Nationhood; on a unity in a na-

tional name which has never been challenged; on our possession of a distinctive national culture and social order; on the moral courage and dignity of our people in the face of alien aggression; on the fact that in nearly every generation and five times within the past one hundred and twenty years our people have challenged in arms the right of England to rule this country. On these incontrovertible facts is based the claim that the people have beyond question established the right to be accorded all the powers of a free nation.

"Sinn Fein stands less for a political power than for the Nation; it represents the old tradition of Nationhood handed down from dead generations; it stands by the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Easter, 1916, reasserting the inalienable right of the Irish nation to Sovereign Independence; reaffirming the determination of the Irish people to achieve it, and guaranteeing within the Independent Nation equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens.

"Believing that the time has arrived when Ireland's voice for the principle of untrammelled national self-determination should be heard above every interest of party or class, Sinn Fein will oppose at the polls every individual candidate who does not accept this principle. The policy of our opponents stands condemned on any test, whether of principle or of expediency. The right of a nation to sovereign independence rests upon immutable natural law and cannot be made the subject of a compromise. Any attempt to barter away the sacred and inviolate rights of Nationhood begins in dishonor and is bound to end in disaster. The enforced exodus of millions of our people, the decay of our industrial life, the ever-increasing financial plunder of our country, the whittling down of the demand for the repeal of the Union, voiced by the first Irish leader to plead in the Hall of the Conqueror to that of Home Rule on the Statute Book, and finally the contemplated mutilation of our country by partition, are some of the ghastly results of a policy that leads to national ruin.

"Those who have endeavored to harness the people of Ireland to England's war-chariot, ignoring the fact that only a freely elected government in a free Ireland has power to decide for Ireland the question of peace and war, have forfeited the right to speak for the Irish people. The green flag turned red in the hands of the leaders, but that shame is not to be laid at the doors of the Irish people unless they continue a policy of sending their representatives to an alien and hostile assembly whose powerful influence has been sufficient to destroy the integrity and sap the independence of their representatives. Ireland must repudiate

the men who, in a supreme crisis of the nation, attempted to sell her birthright for the vague promises of English Ministers and who showed their incompetence by failing to have even these promises fulfilled.

"The present Irish members of the British Parliament constitute an obstacle to be removed from the path that leads to the Peace Conference. By declaring their will to accept the status of a province instead of boldly taking their stand upon the right of the Nation, they supply England with the only subterfuge at her disposal for obscuring the issue in the eyes of the world. By their persistent endeavors to induce the young manhood of Ireland to don the uniform of our seven-century old oppressor and place their lives at the disposal of the military machine that holds our Nation in bondage, they endeavor to barter away and even to use against itself the one great asset still left to the Nation after the havoc of centuries.

"Sinn Fein goes to the polls handicapped by all the arts and contrivances that a powerful and unscrupulous enemy can use against us. Conscious of the power of Sinn Fein to secure the freedom of Ireland, the British government would destroy it. Sinn Fein, however, goes to the polls confident that the people of this ancient nation will be true to the old cause and will vote for the men who stand by the principles of Tone, Emmet, Mitchel, Pearse and Connolly, the men who disdain to whine to the enemy for favors, the men who hold that Ireland must be as free as England or Holland or Switzerland or France, and whose demand is that the only status befitting this ancient realm is the status of a free Nation."

De Valera, though still in his majesty's jail, anonounced himself a candidate in four divisions. His friends made a spectacular fight in East Mayo, where the two parties came to death grips behind the respective leaders, Dillon and De Valera. This was Dillon's home constituency which he had represented many years in Parliament. It was in the presence of the same constituency that De Valera had announced, at the meeting in May before his arrest, that there could be no compromise on the principles of the two parties. When the votes were counted it was found that De Valera had been elected by a majority of 4,461, out of a total vote of approximately 13,000. The result of this election in all Ireland was:

Sinn Fein—73.

Unionist—26.

Irish Party—6.

Sinn Fein carried the three Southern provinces solidly, with

the exception of one Independent Unionist in County Dublin, due to a division of the Nationalist vote, and one Constitutional Nationalist in Waterford. Counting the twenty-five uncontested seats, there were 1,012,221 votes for complete separation, to 289,025 against. The vote for separation was 77.78 per cent of the total vote cast. The vote on all candidates by divisions was as follows:

IRISH BOROUGHES

DUBLIN—Clontarf—

D. Mulcahy (S. F.).....	5,974
Sir P. Shortall (I. P.).....	3,228

Sinn Fein majority 2,746

College Green—

Sean T. O'Kelly (S. F.).....	9,662
J. Coghlan Briscoe (Town Ten.).....	2,853

Sinn Fein majority..... 6,809

Harbor Division—

P. Shanahan (S. F.).....	7,708
Ald. A. Byrne (I. P.).....	5,368

Sinn Fein majority..... 2,340

St. James's—

J. McGrath (S. F.).....	6,256
J. S. Kelly (I. P.).....	1,368

Sinn Fein majority..... 4,882

St. Michan's—

M. Staines (S. F.).....	7,553
J. D. Nugent (I. P.).....	3,996

Sinn Fein majority..... 3,557

St. Patrick's—

Countess Markievicz (S. F.).....	7,835
William Field (I. P.).....	3,752

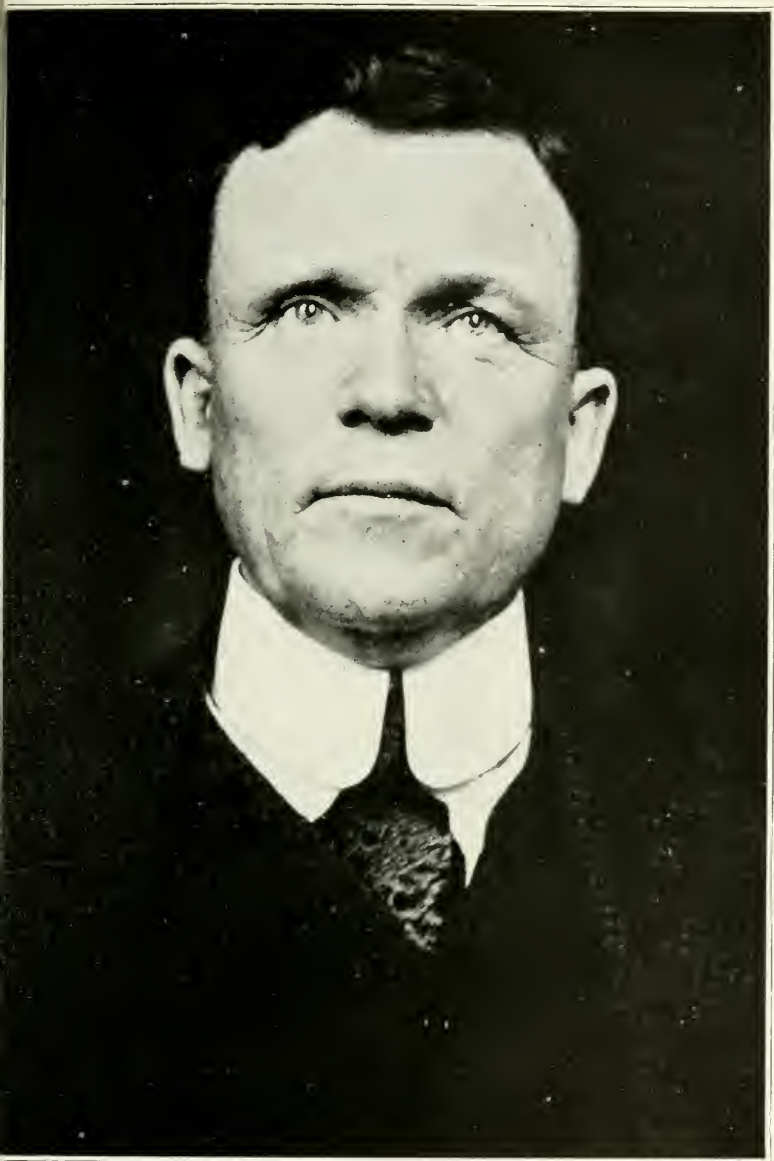


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FRANK P. WALSH

IRISH-AMERICAN DELEGATE TO PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE.

Ald. J. J. Kelly (Ind.)	312
Sinn Fein majority over I. P.	4,083
Majority over I. P. and Ind. combined	3,771
<i>Stephen's Green—</i>	
Ald. Tom Kelly (S. F.)	8,461
P. J. Brady, Solr. (I. P.)	2,902
H. Hanna, K. C. (U.)	2,775
S. F. majority over I. P.	5,559
Do. over U.	5,686
Do. over I. P. and U. combined	2,784
<i>BELFAST—Cromac Division—</i>	
W. A. Lindsay (U.)	11,459
J. Freeland (Lab. Ind.)	2,508
A. Savage (S. F.)	997
U. majority over Lab.	8,951
Do. over Lab. and S. F.	7,954
<i>Duncairn Division—</i>	
Sir E. Carson (U.)	11,637
Major Davey (H. R.)	2,449
Dr. Russell M'Nabb (S. F.)	271
U. Maj. over H. R. and S. F.	8,917
<i>Falls Division—</i>	
Joseph Devlin (I. P.)	8,438
E. De Valera (S. F.)	3,045
I. P. majority	5,393
<i>Ormeau Division—</i>	
Thomas Moles (U.)	7,460
W. J. Stewart (I. U.)	4,833
Seumas Dobbyn (S. F.)	338
U. majority over I. U.	2,627
Do. over I. U. and S. F.	2,289
<i>Pottinger Division—</i>	
Captain H. Dixon (U.)	8,574

S. C. Porter (Ind. Lab.).....	2,513
J. H. Bennett (Ind. Lab.).....	659
B. Campbell (S. F.).....	393

Unionist majority over combined opposition..... 5,005

St. Anne's Division—

T. H. Burn (U.).....	9,155
W. H. Alexander (Ind.).....	1,752
Dermot Barnes (S. F.).....	1,341

U. majority over I. and S. F..... 6,062

Shankill Division—

S. M'Guffin (U.).....	11,840
S. Kyle (Lab.).....	3,674
M. Carolan (S. F.).....	934

U. majority over Lab..... 8,166
Do. over S. F..... 10,906

Victoria Division—

T. Donald (U.).....	9,305
R. Waugh (Lab.).....	3,469
Miss W. Carney (S. F.).....	395

U. majority over Lab..... 5,836
Do. over Lab. and S. F..... 5,441

Woodvale Division—

R. J. Lynn (U.).....	12,232
R. Haskins (S. F.).....	1,247

Unionist majority 10,985

Cork City (2 seats)—

J. J. Walsh (S. F.).....	20,804
Liam de Roiste (S. F.).....	20,506
Talbot Crosbie (I. P.).....	7,480
R. O'Sullivan (I. P.).....	7,162
D. Williams (U.).....	2,519
T. Farrington (U.).....	2,254

Lowest S. F. over best I. P..... 13,026

Lowest S. F. over best U.....	17,987
Lowest I. P. and U. combined.....	10,507

Derry City—

J. MacNeill (S. F.).....	7,335
Sir R. Anderson (U.).....	7,020
Major W. Davey (I. P.).....	120

S. F. majority over U.....	315
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Waterford City—

Captain W. Redmond (I. P.).....	4,915
Dr. White (S. F.).....	4,441

I. P. majority.....	474
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(The figures at the previous election, which took place in March, following upon the vacancy created by the death of Mr. John Redmond, were: Captain Redmond, 1,242; Dr. White, 764; majority, 478.)

How Leinster polled:

COUNTY DUBLIN—North Dublin—

Frank Lawless (S. F.).....	9,138
J. J. Clancy (I. P.).....	4,428

S. F. majority.....	4,710
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South Dublin—

Gavan Duffy (S. F.).....	5,133
Sir T. Robinson (U.).....	4,354
T. Clarke (I. P.).....	3,819

S. F. majority over U.....	779
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S. F. majority over I. P.....	1,314
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Pembroke Division—

Desmond Fitzgerald (S. F.).....	6,114
J. P. Good (U.).....	4,138
C. P. O'Neill (I. P.).....	2,629

S. F. majority over U.....	1,976
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Do. over I. P.....	3,485
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Rathmines and Rathgar—

Sir Maurice Dockrell (U.)	7,400
P. J. Little (S. F.)	5,566
G. Moonan (I. P.)	1,780

U. majority over S. F.	1,834
Do. over I. P.	5,620
Do. over S. F. and I. P. combined	54

COUNTY KILDARE—Kildare North—

A. Buckley (S. F.)	5,979
J. O'Connor (I. P.)	2,772

S. F. majority	3,207
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Kildare South—

Art. O'Connor (S. F.)	7,104
Denis Kilbride (I. P.)	1,545

S. F. majority	5,559
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COUNTY KILKENNY—Kilkenny South—

J. O'Mara (S. F.)	8,685
M. Keating (I. P.)	1,855

S. F. majority	6,830
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County Longford—

J. M'Guinness (S. F.)	11,122
J. P. Farrell (I. P.)	4,173

S. F. majority	6,949
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LOUTH—County Louth—

J. J. O'Kelly (S. F.)	10,770
R. Hazleton (I. P.)	10,515

S. F. majority	255
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COUNTY MEATH—North Meath—

Liam Mellows (S. F.)	6,982
Dr. Cusack (I. P.)	3,758

S. F. majority	3,224
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South Meath—

E. Duggan (S. F.)	6,371
T. O'Donohue (I. P.)	2,680

S. F. majority..... 3,691

QUEEN'S—Queen's County—

K. O'Higgins (S. F.)	13,452
P. Meehan (I. P.)	6,480

S. F. majority..... 6,972

WESTMEATH—County Westmeath—

L. Ginnell (S. F.)	12,435
P. J. Weymes (I. P.)	3,158
Nugent (Ind. N.)	603

S. F. majority over I. P..... 8,977

S. F. over I. P. and Ind. N..... 8,374

COUNTY WEXFORD—Wexford, North—

R. Sweetman (S. F.)	10,162
Sir T. Esmonde (I. P.)	7,189

S. F. majority 2,973

Wexford, South—

Dr. James Ryan (S. F.)	8,729
Peter Ffrench (I. P.)	8,211

S. F. majority..... 518

COUNTY WICKLOW—East Wicklow—

J. Etchingham (S. F.)	5,916
A. P. Kenne (U.)	2,600
D. J. Cogan (I. P.)	2,466

S. F. majority over U..... 3,316

S. F. majority over I. P..... 3,450

S. F. majority over both..... 850

West Wicklow—

R. C. Barton (S. F.)	6,239
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The O'Mahony (I. P.)	1,370
S. F. majority	4,869

Big Munster majorities:

COUNTY LIMERICK—Limerick East—

Dr. R. Hayes (S. F.)	12,750
Thomas Lundon (I. P.)	3,608
S. F. majority	9,142

COUNTY TIPPERARY—Tipperary East—

P. M'Cann (S. F.)	7,487
T. J. Condon (I. P.)	4,794
S. F. majority	2,693

Tipperary South —

P. J. Maloney (S. F.)	8,744
J. Culinan (I. P.)	2,701
S. F. majority	6,043

Waterford—County Waterford—

Cathal Brugha (S. F.)	12,890
J. O'Shea (I. P.)	4,217
S. F. majority	8,673

Results in Ulster:

COUNTY ANTRIM—Antrim North—

Major P. Kerr-Smiley (U.)	9,621
P. M'Corry (S. F.)	2,673
Unionist majority	6,948

Antrim Mid—

Major Hon. H. O'Neill (U.)	10,711
D. J. Connelly (S. F.)	2,791
Unionist majority	7,920

Antrim East—

Lt.-Col. McCalmont (U.)	15,206
D. Dumigan (S. F.)	861
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Unionist majority	14,345

Antrim South—

Captain C. C. Craig (U.)	13,270
K. O'Sheil (S. F.)	2,313
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Unionist majority	10,957

COUNTY DERRY—Derry, North—

Dr. H. Anderson (U.)	10,530
P. McGilligan (S. F.)	3,951
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Unionist majority	6,579

Derry, South—

Denis Henry, K. C. (U.)	8,942
Professor Conway (I. P.)	3,981
Louis Walsh (S. F.)	3,425
<hr/>	
Unionist majority over I. P.	4,961
Unionist majority over S. F.	5,517

COUNTY ARMAGH—North Armagh—

Lt.-Col. W. J. Allen (U.)	10,239
Ernest Blythe (S. F.)	2,860
<hr/>	
Unionist majority	7,379

Armagh Mid.—

J. R. Lonsdale (U.)	8,431
Professor L. O'Brien (S. F.)	5,689
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Unionist majority	2,742

Armagh, South—

Patrick Donnelly (I. P.)	4,345
Dr. M'Kee (S. F.) (retired)	79
(This was one of the compromise seats.)	

COUNTY DONEGAL—Donegal, North—

Joseph O'Doherty (S. F.)	7,003
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Philip O'Doherty (I. P.)	3,075
Sinn Fein majority	3,928
<i>Donegal, West—</i>	
T. Sweeney (S. F.)	6,712
D. MacMenamin (I. P.)	4,116
Sinn Fein majority	2,596
<i>Donegal, East—</i>	
E. J. Kelly (I. P.)	7,596
R. L. Moore (U.)	4,797
S. O'Flaherty (S. F.) (withdrawn)	40
Nationalist majority	2,799
(This was one of the compromise seats.)	
<i>Donegal, South—</i>	
Peter J. Ward (S. F.)	5,787
John T. Donovan (I. P.)	4,752
Sein Finn majority	1,035
<i>COUNTY DOWN—Down, East—</i>	
D. D. Reid (U.)	6,007
M. J. Johnston (I. P.)	4,321
Dr. McNabb (S. F.)	3,876
Unionist majority over I. P.	1,686
This seat was lost to the Nationalists through Irish Party breach of Cardinal's arrangement. It will be noted that the combined Nationalist majority over the Unionist poll is 2,190—but the Unionist gets the seat.	
<i>Down, Mid.—</i>	
Colonel Sir J. Craig (U.)	10,639
Joseph Robinson (S. F.)	707
Unionist majority	9,932
<i>Down, North—</i>	
T. W. Brown (U.)	9,200
J. A. Davidson (Ind.)	2,153
Unionist majority	7,047

Down, South—

J. McVeagh (I. P.).....	8,756
J. W. Johnston (U.).....	5,573
A. Fisher (Soldiers' Fed.).....	436
E. de Valera (S. F.) (withdrawn).....	33

Nat. majority over U..... 3,183
(This was one of the compromise seats.)

Down, West—

D. M. Wilson (U.).....	10,559
B. Campbell (S. F.).....	1,725

Unionist majority 8,834

COUNTY FERMANAGH—Fermanagh, North—

E. M. Archdale (U.).....	6,768
Kevin O'Shiel (S. F.).....	6,236

Unionist majority 532

Fermanagh, South—

Sean O'Mahony (S. F.).....	6,673
James Cooper (U.).....	4,524
P. Crumley (I. P.) (withdrawn).....	132

S. F. majority over U..... 2,149

COUNTY MONAGHAN—Monaghan, North—

Ernest Blythe (S. F.).....	6,842
Michael E. Knight (U.).....	4,497
J. J. Turley (I. P.).....	2,709

S. F. majority over Unionist..... 2,345

S. F. majority over I. P..... 4,133

Monaghan, South—

J. MacEntee (S. F.).....	7,524
T. J. Campbell (I. P.).....	4,413

Sinn Fein majority..... 3,111

COUNTY TYRONE—Tyrone, N. E.—

T. J. S. Harbison (I. P.).....	11,605
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K. Houston (U.).....	6,681
Sean Milroy (S. F.) (withdrawn).....	56

Nationalist majority over U..... 4,924
(This was one of the compromise Ulster seats.)

Tyrone, N. W.

Arthur Griffith (S. F.).....	10,442
W. T. Miller (U.).....	7,696

Sinn Fein majority..... 2,746

Tyrone, South—

William Coote (U.).....	10,616
Denis M'Cullagh (S. F.).....	5,437
J. Skeffington (I. P.).....	2,602

Unionist majority over S. F..... 5,179
Unionist majority over I. P..... 7,014
Unionist majority over both..... 2,577

“The West’s Awake.”

COUNTY GALWAY—Connemara—

Padraic O'Maille (S. F.).....	11,754
W. O'Malley (I. P.).....	3,482

Sinn Fein majority..... 8,272

Galway, North—

Dr. Cusack (S. F.).....	8,896
T. Sloyan (I. P.).....	3,999

Sinn Fein majority..... 4,897

Galway, South—

Frank Fahy (S. F.).....	10,621
W. J. Duffy (I. P.).....	1,744

Sinn Fein majority 8,877

LEITRIM—County Leitrim—

James Dolan (S. F.).....	17,711
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G. Farrell (I. P.).....	3,096
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Sinn Fein majority.....	14,615
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COUNTY MAYO—Mayo, West—

Joseph M'Bride (S. F.).....	10,195
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William Doris (I. P.).....	1,568
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Sinn Fein majority.....	8,627
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Mayo, North—

Dr. Crowley (S. F.).....	7,429
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Daniel Boyle (I. P.).....	1,861
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Sinn Fein majority.....	5,568
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Mayo, East—

E. De Valera (S. F.).....	8,975
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J. Dillon (I. P.).....	4,514
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Sinn Fein majority.....	4,461
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COUNTY ROSCOMMON—Roscommon, South—

H. Boland (S. F.).....	10,685
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J. P. Hayden (I. P.).....	4,233
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Sinn Fein majority.....	6,452
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COUNTY SLIGO—Sligo, South—

A. M'Cabe (S. F.).....	9,113
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J. O'Dowd (I. P.).....	1,988
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Sinn Fein majority.....	7,125
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Sligo, North—

J. J. Clancy (S. F.).....	9,030
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T. Scanlan (I. P.).....	4,242
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Sinn Fein majority.....	4,788
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Following was the result, previously recorded, of the elections in the Universities:

National University—

MacNeill (S. F.).....	1,671
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Conway (Ind.).....	831
Majority for MacNeill.....	840
<i>Queen's University, Belfast—</i>	
Sir William Whitla (U.).....	1,487
Mr. Sean Dolan (S. F.).....	118
Majority for Whitla.....	1,369
<i>Dublin University (Trinity College)—2 members—</i>	
Arthur W. Samuels, K. C. (U.).....	1,273
Sir Robert Woods (U.).....	793
W. M. Jellett, K. C. (U.).....	631
Capt. Stephen Gwynn (Ind. Nat.).....	257
Majority for Samuels over Jellett and Gwynn.....	383
Majority for Woods over Jellett.....	162

The members of the Irish representation, according to provinces and parties, are subjoined. Those marked * were returned unopposed, and those marked † were members at the time of the dissolution :

Leinster—

N. Dublin—F. Lawless (S. F.)
 S. Dublin—G. Duffy (S. F.)
 Rathmines—Sir M. Dockrell (U.)
 Pembroke—D. Fitzgerald (S. F.)
 N. Kildare—D. Buckley (S. F.)
 S. Kildare—A. O'Connor (S. F.)
 N. Kilkenny—W. T. Cosgrove*† (S. F.)
 S. Kilkenny—James O'Mara (S. F.)
 Longford—Joseph M'Guinness† (S. F.)
 Louth—J. J. O'Kelly (S. F.)
 N. Meath—Liam Mellows (S. F.)
 S. Meath—E. J. Duggan, solr. (S. F.)
 Westmeath—L. Ginnell† (S. F.)
 Queen's County—K. O'Higgins (S. F.)
 King's Co.—Dr. P. McCartan*† (S. F.)
 N. Wexford—R. M. Sweetman (S. F.)
 S. Wexford—Dr. James Ryan (S. F.)
 E. Wicklow—J. R. Etchingham (S. F.)
 W. Wicklow—R. C. Barton (S. F.)

Carlow—James Lennon* (S. F.)

Dublin City—

Clontarf—R. Mulcahy (S. F.)

Harbor—P. Shanahan (S. F.)

St. Michan's—M. Staines (S. F.)

College Green—S. T. O'Kelly (S. F.)

St. James—J. M'Grath (S. F.)

Stephen's Green—T. Kelly (S. F.)

St. Patrick's—Mme. Markievicz (S. F.)

Ulster—

N. Donegal—Joseph O'Doherty (S. F.)

S. Donegal—P. J. Ward (S. F.)

E. Donegal—E. J. Kelly† (I. P.)

W. Donegal—Joseph Sweeney (S. F.)

N. Monaghan—E. Blythe (S. F.)

S. Monaghan—Sean M'Entee (S. F.)

N. Antrim—Major Kerr Smiley† (U.)

S. Antrim—Captain Craig† (U.)

E. Antrim—Colonel M'Calmont† (U.)

Mid. Antrim—Major H. O'Neill† (U.)

N. Armagh—Colonel Allen† (U.)

S. Armagh—P. Donnelly† (I. P.)

Mid. Armagh—J. R. Lonsdale† (U.)

N. Derry—Dr. Anderson (U.)

S. Derry—D. Henry† (U.)

N. Down—T. W. Brown (U.)

W. Down—D. M. Wilson (U.)

M. Down—Sir J. Craig† (U.)

S. Down—J. MacVeagh† (I. P.)

E. Down—D. D. Reid (U.)

N. Fermanagh—E. Archdale† (U.)

S. Fermanagh—J. O'Mahony (S. F.)

N. W. Tyrone—A. Griffith (S. F.)

N. E. Tyrone—T. J. S. Harbison† (I. P.)

S. Tyrone—W. Cooter† (U.)

E. Cavan—A. Griffith*† (S. F.)

W. Cavan—P. Galligan* (S. F.)

Derry City—Eoin MacNeill (S. F.)

Belfast City—

Falls—J. Devlin† (I. P.)

Woodvale—R. J. Lynn (U.)

Duncairn—Sir E. Carson† (U.)
 Cromac—W. A. Lindsay† (U.)
 St. Anne's—T. H. Burn (U.)
 Shankill—S. M'Guffin (U.)
 Victoria—T. Donald (U.)
 Pottinger—Captain H. Dixon (U.)
 Ormeau—T. Moles (U.)

Munster—

N. Cork—P. O'Keefe* (S. F.)
 N. E. Cork—T. Hunter* (S. F.)
 Mid. Cork—T. MacSwiney* (S. F.)
 E. Cork—D. Kent* (S. F.)
 S. Cork—M. Collins* (S. F.)
 S. E. Cork—D. Lynch* (S. F.)
 W. Cork—S. Hayes* (S. F.)
 E. Clare—E. De Valera*† (S. F.)
 W. Clare—B. O'Higgins* (S. F.)
 N. Kerry—J. Crowley* (S. F.)
 S. Kerry—F. Lynch* (S. F.)
 E. Kerry—P. Beasley* (S. F.)
 W. Kerry—A. Stack* (S. F.)
 E. Limerick—Dr. H. Hayes (S. F.)
 W. Limerick—C. Collins* (S. F.)
 N. Tipperary—Jos. MacDonagh* (S. F.)
 Mid. Tipperary—J. A. Burke, B. L.* (S. F.)
 S. Tipperary—J. J. Maloney (S. F.)
 E. Tipperary—P. McCann (S. F.)
 Waterford Co.—Cathal Brugha (S. F.)
 Cork City (2 members)—J. J. Walsh (S. F.), L. de Roiste (S. F.)
 Waterford City—Capt. Redmond† (I. P.)
 Limerick City—M. P. Colivet* (S. F.)

Connacht—

N. Roscommon—Count Plunkett*† (S. F.)
 S. Roscommon—H. Boland (S. F.)
 N. Mayo—Dr. Crowley (S. F.)
 S. Mayo—William Sears* (S. F.)
 W. Mayo—J. MacBride (S. F.)
 E. Mayo—E. De Valera (S. F.)
 N. Galway—Dr. B. Cusack (S. F.)
 E. Galway—Liam Mellows* (S. F.)
 S. Galway—F. Fahy (S. F.)
 Connemara—P. O'Maille (S. F.)

Leitrim—J. N. Dolan (S. F.)
 N. Sligo—J. J. Clancy (S. F.)
 S. Sligo—A. M'Cabe (S. F.)

Universities—

Dublin—A. W. Samuels (U.), Sir R. Woods (I. U.)
 National—Eoin MacNeill (S. F.)
 Queen's, Belfast—Sir W. Whitla (U.)

The professional element, the Irish Independent pointed out, was well represented amongst the candidates. Sinn Fein provided eight doctors, five solicitors and five barristers. Among the Irish Party candidates were one doctor, seven solicitors, eight barristers, and one King's Counsel. The Unionist candidates included: Three doctors, six King's Counsel, and seven barristers; seven military officers.

Among the Sinn Fein members are: Five doctors, two solicitors, four barristers; the six members of the Irish party left include three barristers and two solicitors, Mr. Devlin being the only layman.

Out of the seventeen professional gentlemen amongst the Unionist candidates, two lawyers, Mr. Hanna, K. C., and Mr. Weir Johnson, were defeated.

The following are Sinn Fein M. P.'s who were in jail when elected, some of whom are still there (July, 1919). Those in English prisons were not brought to trial since their arrest in May, 1918 :

E. De Valera, A. Griffith, W. Cosgrove, Count Plunkett, A. Stack, F. Lynch, J. Crowley, V. S.; P. O'Keefe, T. Hunter, T. MacSwiney, M. P. Colivet, B. O'Higgins, P. Galligan, J. Lennon, J. MacDonagh, J. M'Grath, Madame Markievicz, F. Lawless, D. Fitzgerald, E. Blythe, J. O'Mahony, Dr. B. Cusack, F. Fahy, A. O'Connor, Dr. Hayes, J. MacGuinness, J. MacBride, Sean MacEntee, J. J. Clancy, A. MacCabe, P. MacCann, and J. R. Ettingham.

Deported to America—Diarmuid Lynch.

"On the run," or evading arrest—P. Beasley, Dr. Patrick McCartan, Michael Collins, C. Collins, J. J. Walsh, Liam de Roiste, Padraic O'Maille, Harry Boland (De Valera's secretary), Cathal Brugha, and Liam Mellows. Thirty-two Sinn Fein M. P.'s were in prison, one was deported, and ten were "on the run" when elected to the English Parliament.

Eight Sinn Fein candidates stood for more than one seat, Mr. De Valera having been nominated for no less than four, namely,

E. Clare (unopposed), E. Mayo (won), Falls, Belfast and S. Down. The seven others who stood for two seats were A. Griffith, Dr. M'Nabb, B. Campbell, K. O'Shiel, E. Blythe, J. MacNeill, and Liam Mellows. Five Sinn Feiners were elected each to two constituencies—Messrs. De Valera, Griffith, Blythe, MacNeill, and Mellows. The effect of the double returns was that sixty-eight individual Sinn Fein members were elected for seventy-three seats.

"The most sensational defeat was that of Mr. Dillon," recorded *The Independent*. "It was apparent from the outset that Sinn Fein had a huge following in the constituency; but it was not generally anticipated that Mr. De Valera would win by the huge majority of four thousand, four hundred and sixty-one. Judging from Mr. Dillon's speeches during the campaign he does not intend to look for another seat or to get his decimated followers to resign a constituency in his favor. He said on November twenty-third, that if he did not win E. Mayo, he would take no other seat. Two days later he declared he was certain he was going to win by an overwhelming majority."

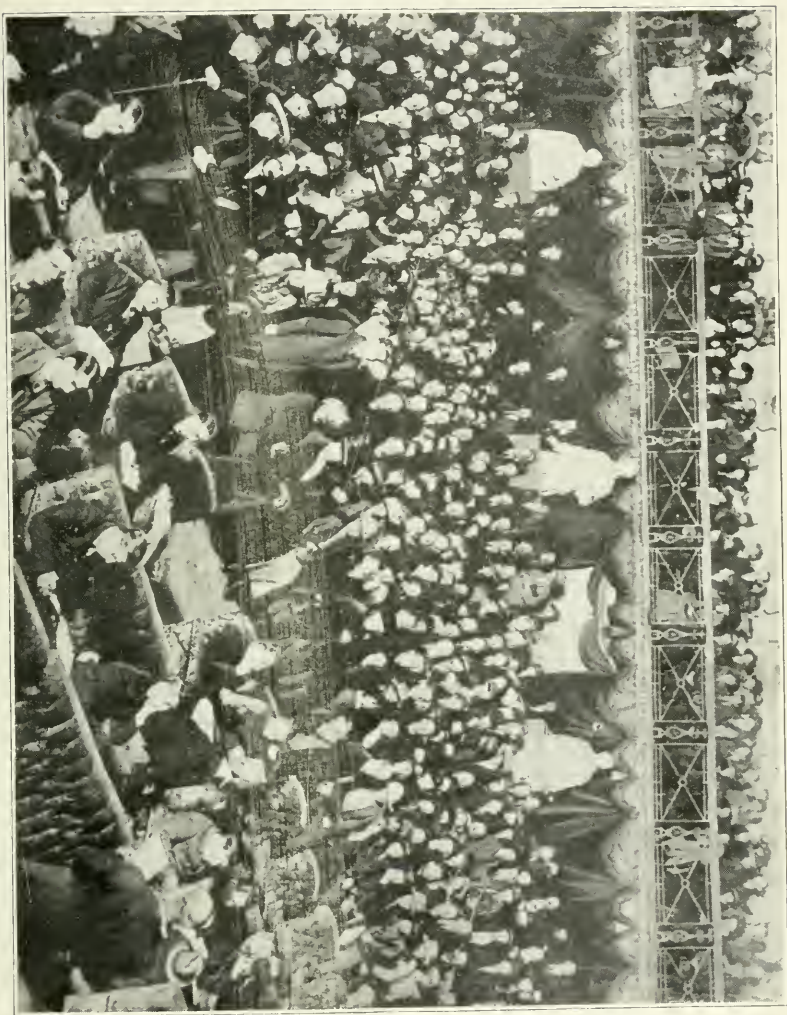


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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE DAIL EIREANN

AS soon as the results of the elections were made known the Sinn Fein party took immediate steps, in accordance with the election pronouncements, to formally convene and proclaim the provisional establishment of the Irish Republic. The delegates, being the elected Sinn Fein members of the British Parliament who were not in jail, met at the Mansion House in Dublin on January 21, 1919, to issue their Declaration of Independence and lay down the general outline of the new constitution. An invitation had been sent to both the Unionists and the Irish Party members of the British Parliament chosen in the recent election. None of these responded.

The Dail Eireann assembled with marked solemnity and an enthusiasm that could not be wholly suppressed. The proceedings of the Dail, except the reading of the English and French translations of the declaration, were conducted in the Irish language, no speeches being made in English.

The scene inside the Round Room was a particularly animated one, the *Irish Independent* recorded. The Lord Mayor occupied a seat behind the members, for whom the front position was reserved, the rear and side galleries being set apart for their members. The entire space was filled. Madame MacBride, recently released from prison, entered practically unrecognized, but some cheers were raised. An Australian officer in khaki, seemingly a chaplain, was accorded a rousing reception as he arrived, while the entry of two American naval officers in uniform was the signal for a scene of great enthusiasm. The officers smilingly saluted the gathering.

The President's chair was placed under the Lord Mayor's "arms" on the dais, and in front were chairs for the Feisiri Dail Eireann. The doors were opened at 3 o'clock, but stewards regulated the rush, and everything worked with the smoothness of a machine. Cheers, again and again renewed, were given as Count Plunkett led the way to the dais, accompanied by Cathal Brugha, Eoin MacNeill and others.

There were probably fifty clergymen present, and the audience included a great number of women. When the Lord Mayor took his seat, amidst a salvo of cheers, Count Plunkett, looking in splendid health, dignified and spruce, proposed that Cathal Brugha take the chair, and that gentleman, whose adventures with a

Thurles policeman was still fresh in the public mind, took the chair, opening the proceedings with a brief speech in Irish. The roll was called in Irish, and Father Michael O'Flanagan recited an Irish prayer, invoking divine guidance for the proceedings.

Several colonial soldiers were amongst the spectators. The chairman's injunction that there should be no cheering was faithfully complied with. After referring to the invitation sent out, he quoted Wolfe Tone as having said that the people of Ireland who wanted to save the country would have to do it without the help of those who looked to the foreigner. In an allusion to those in prison he described Madame Markievicz as "one of the noblest and bravest women that ever lived."

The entire waiting audience rose when the Republican members, as they are now officially styled, entered the Round Room shortly after 3:30. Prolonged cheers greeted them, women especially being particularly demonstrative in waving miniature flags and handkerchiefs. Count Plunkett led the procession to the benches, and, speaking in Irish, proposed Mr. Cathal Brugha as chairman for the day. Mr. P. O'Maille (Connemara), seconded, and the motion was carried amid applause. Mr. Brugha, on assuming the chair, said in Irish that they had come there to undertake the most important task ever done in Ireland since the English entered the land, and before going further they should ask help from God upon their proceedings. For this purpose he called upon "the priest who is dearest to the people of Ireland—Rev. Michael O'Flanagan—to offer for us a prayer to the Holy Spirit, imploring His aid and blessing on our proceedings."

Father O'Flanagan, who was welcomed with cheers, then stood on the platform and recited a short prayer in Irish for the success of the assembly, all present standing.

The following were appointed clerks: Messrs. D. O'Hegarty, S. Nunan, P. Sheehan and Richard Foghludha.

The president next read the roll of members invited, and there was laughter when the name of Sir Edward Carson was read out. When the names of the Sinn Fein members in prison were called out, the answer was given in Irish: "In jail." The following is an official list of the twenty-nine members in attendance:

Count Plunkett, R. Mulcahy, S. T. O'Kelly, P. O'Maille, J. Hayes, E. MacNeill, J. O'Doherty, P. Ward, S. J. O'Sweeney, G. Duffy, P. O'Shanahan, P. Beaslai, D. Buckley, E. Duggan, C. Brugha, R. M. Sweetman, Dr. Ryan, C. Collins, J. J. O'Kelly, Dr. Crowley, H. Boland, J. Burke, B. L.; P. J. Maloney, R. C. Barton, K. O'Higgins, M. Staines, J. J. Walsh, M. Collins and Ald. T. Kelly.

The constitution of the new assembly was next read by the chairman. The following is a translation:

Section One—Dail Eireann shall possess full powers to legislate and shall be composed of delegates (*Teachtai*), chosen by the people of Ireland, from the present constituencies of the country.

Section Two—(1) Full executive powers shall be had at any time by the Ministry (*Aireacht*) in office at the time.

(2) The Ministry shall be composed of the following: A Prime Minister (*Priemh-aireach*) chosen by the Dail Eireann, and four other Ministers, viz.: Minister of Finance (*Aireach Airgid*); Minister of Home Affairs (*A. Gnothai Duthchais*); Minister of Foreign Affairs (*A. Gnothai Coigcrioch*); and Minister of Defense (*A. Cosanta*). The Prime Minister shall nominate the four others, and shall have power to dismiss them from office.

(3) Every Minister must be a member of the Dail, and shall at all times be answerable to the Dail.

(4) The names of Ministers must be put before the Dail for ratification at the first assembly after their nomination by the Prime Minister.

(5) The Prime Minister shall hold office as soon as elected, and the other ministers as soon as their appointment is ratified by the Dail.

(6) The Dail shall have power by vote to dismiss the Ministry or any of the Ministers from office, if a written order in the form of a unanimous resolution be presented for that object seven days previously.

Section Three—Every meeting of the Dail shall be presided over by a Chief-of-Council (*Ceann Comhairle*), or Vice-Chief-of-Council (*Ceann Ionaid*), chosen by the Dail for the year. Should the Chief-of-Council and Vice-Chief be absent, the Dail shall select substitutes or elect a Provisional Chief-of-Council (*Ceann Comhairle Sealadach*).

Section Four—The Ministry shall receive whatever finance it needs by vote of the Dail. The Ministry shall be answerable to the Dail for such finances, and the accounts shall be audited with regard to the spending of money for the Dail, twice yearly, viz., at *Samhain* and *Bealtaine* (November and May). The auditing shall be carried out by an auditor or auditors chosen by the Dail. No member of the Dail shall be chosen as auditor.

Section Five—The present is a Provisional Constitution, and may be altered on a written unanimous order being given to that effect seven days previously.

Its adoption was proposed by Mr. S. T. Kelly (College Green), who said the Constitution was short and elastic in its

present form, and would require expansion as time went on, and as new measures and methods became necessary. At present they were only laying the foundations of the future state. Mr. J. Hayes (W. Cork), seconded, and it was passed unanimously.

The President next read the Declaration of Independence in Irish, all the members standing.

Mr. Duggan read the Declaration in English.

Mr. Gavan Duffy next read the Declaration in French.

Mr. Beaslai (E. Kerry) seconded the adoption of the Declaration.

Mr. O'Maille (Connemara), in proposing as delegates to the Peace Conference Messrs. Edward De Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett, said there was a proverb that says: "God helps those who help themselves." They should, in approaching the Peace Conference, show that, while seeking its help, they were prepared to do all in their power to help themselves, and so to carry forward their efforts in Ireland.

Dr. Ryan (S. Wexford), in seconding, said that two of the delegates were in English jails, but thank God, it would not be long before they would be with them once again. The motion was carried.

Mr. Beaslai read the program of the Republican Party in Irish. It was read by Alderman Kelly in English. Mr. Mulcahy proposed the adoption of the program. Mr. Con Collins seconded the adoption. The resolution was unanimously passed, and the proceedings were adjourned. The business was concluded in one hour and thirty-five minutes.

Mr. J. J. Kelly (Sceilg) (Louth) read the message to the Free Nations of the World, which was read by Count Plunkett in English. The English version runs:

"To the Nations of the World, Greeting:

"The Nation of Ireland, having proclaimed her National Independence, calls, through her elected representatives in Parliament assembled, in the Irish capital, on January twenty-first, 1919, upon every free nation to support the Irish Republic by recognizing Ireland's national status, and her right to its vindication of the Peace Congress.

"Nationally, the race, the language, the customs and traditions of Ireland are radically distinct from the English; Ireland is one of the most ancient nations of Europe, and she has preserved her national integrity, vigorous and intact, through seven centuries of foreign oppression; she has never relinquished her national rights and throughout the long era of English usurpation defiantly proclaimed her inalienable right of nationhood down to her last



DEV ALERA CHEERED AT FOOTBALL GAME
THIS PICTURE WAS TAKEN SHORTLY AFTER HIS ESCAPE FROM LINCOLN PRISON.

glorious resort to arms in 1916.

"Internationally, Ireland is the gateway to the Atlantic. Ireland is the outpost of Europe towards the west; Ireland is the point upon which great trade routes between east and west converge; her independence is demanded by the freedom of the seas; her great harbors must be open to all nations, instead of being the monopoly of England. Today these harbors are empty and idle solely because English policy is determined to retain Ireland as a barren bulwark for English aggrandizement, and the unique geographical position of this island, far from being a benefit and safeguard to Europe and America, is subjected to the purposes of England's policy of world dominion.

"Ireland today reasserts her historic nationhood the more confidently before the new world emerging from the war because she believes in freedom and justice as the fundamental principles of international law, because she believes in a frank co-operation between the peoples for equal rights against the vested privileges of ancient tyrannies, because the permanent peace of Europe can never be secured by perpetuating military dominion for the profit of empire, but only by establishing the control of government in every land upon the basis of the free will of a free people, and the existing state of war between Ireland and England can never be ended until Ireland is definitely evacuated by the armed forces of England.

"For these, among other reasons, Ireland—absolutely and irrevocably determined, at the dawn of the promised era of self-determination and liberty, that she will suffer foreign dominion no longer—calls upon every free nation to uphold her national claim to complete independence as an Irish Republic against the arrogant pretensions of England, founded in fraud and sustained only by an overwhelming military occupation, and demands to be confronted publicly with England at the Congress of Nations, that the civilized world, having judged between English wrong and Irish right, may guarantee to Ireland its permanent support for the maintenance of her national independence."

Proposing the adoption of the message, Mr. MacNeill said they were not asking the nations for charity, but to perform an act that would be of benefit to themselves. Irish freedom was necessary to the peace of the world. Ireland sought not charity, but her rights alone. The present assembly was more representative, more national, than any other gathering held in Ireland for hundreds of years, and proved that the National Will endorsed the appeal. The motion was unanimously passed.

CHAPTER XXXV

IRELAND'S CLAIM TO INDEPENDENCE.

IT was one thing to declare a republic and quite another to have it recognized at Paris. De Valera, Plunkett and Griffith were denied passports to the Peace Conference by the British government. Meantime, at a great convention of the American Friends of Irish Freedom in Philadelphia, it was decided to send a delegation to France to plead for Erin. The convention named former Governor Edward F. Dunne of Chicago, Michael J. Ryan, the Philadelphia banker, and Frank P. Walsh, formerly chairman of the Federal Trade Board. They proceeded to Paris, and were promptly turned down, but not until they had laid the foundation for a world sympathy for Ireland. They subsequently managed to get into Ireland and there confer with the leaders of the provisional government. The result was the placing before Premier Clemenceau of the formal "Magna Charta" of the new government—the specific reason why Ireland laid claim to independence. But England was the doorkeeper at the Hall of Mirrors and Ireland's "Magna Charta" went into the waste basket along with China's and others.

The claim was presented by Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and G. Gavan Duffy, Irish envoys to Paris. The statement was printed on parchment in French, Irish and English. Along with the statement and a covering letter from Messrs. De Valera, Griffith and Plunkett, the following communication was handed to M. Clemenceau's secretary.

"M. le President: Upon the instruction of the elected government of the Irish Republic, we desire to hand you, in your capacity of president of the Peace Conference, the enclosed memorandum in support of the claim of Ireland to recognition as a sovereign state. This memorandum sets out the definite official basis and justification of the claim of Ireland. It is accompanied by a covering letter from Messrs. De Valera and Griffith and Count Plunkett, the delegates appointed by the Parliament of the Irish Republic.

"Permit us very respectfully to take this opportunity of asking you to be good enough to remind the members of the Conference that it would hardly be possible for the Conference to do justice to Ireland without having heard the Irish delegates in support of their memorandum. If, however, you should find it impossible to procure the necessary safe conduct for these dele-

gates, we shall be happy to hold ourselves at your disposal, and at the disposal of the Conference, in their stead, upon hearing from you the honor of an appointment.

(Signed) "SEAN T. O'CEALLAIGH,
"G. GAVAN DUFFY."

Following is the official letter which accompanied the memorandum:

"M. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference,
Paris.

"Sir: On May 17, we forwarded to you a note requesting you to warn the Conference that the Irish people will not be bound by the signatures of the English or British delegation to the Conference, inasmuch as these delegates do not represent Ireland. We now further request that you will provide an opportunity for the consideration by the Conference of Ireland's claims to be recognized as an independent sovereign state. We send you herewith a general memorandum of the case, and beg to direct your attention in particular to the following:

"1. That the rule of Ireland by England has been and is now intolerable; that it is contrary to the constitutions of liberty and justice, and as such, on the grounds of humanity alone, should be ended by the Conference.

"2. That the declared object of the Conference is to establish a lasting peace, which is admittedly impossible if the legitimate claims for self-determination of nations such as Ireland be denied.

"3. That incorporated with the peace treaty under consideration is a covenant establishing a League of Nations intended, among other things, to confirm and perpetuate the political relationships and conditions established by the treaty. It is clear that it is radically unjust to seek to confirm and perpetuate what is essentially wrong, that it is indefensible to refuse the examination of title that confirms the position, such as provided by the draft covenant of the League of Nations is intended to do.

"Ireland definitely denies that England or Britain can show any just claim or title to Ireland, and demands an opportunity for her representatives to appear before the Peace Conference to refute any such claim. We feel that these facts are sufficient basis to merit for our request the consideration which we feel sure you will give them. Please accept the assurance of our great esteem.

"EAMONN DE VALERA,

"ARTHUR GRIFFITH,

"GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT."

The memorandum in support of Ireland's claim for recogni-

tion as a sovereign independent state is as follows:

"Ireland is a nation, not merely for the reason which in the case of other countries has been taken as sufficient—that she has claimed at all times and still claims to be a nation, but also because, even though no claim was put forward on her behalf, history shows her to be a distinct nation from remotely ancient times.

"For over a thousand years, Ireland possessed and fully exercised sovereign independence, and was recognized throughout Europe as a distinct sovereign state. The usurpation of the foreigner has always been disputed and resisted by the mass of the Irish people. At various times since the coming of the English, the Irish nation has exercised its sovereign rights as opportunity offered. The hope of recovering its full and permanent sovereignty has always been alive in the breasts of the Irish people, and has been the inspiration and the mainspring of their political activities abroad as well as at home.

"English statecraft has long and persistently striven to force the Irish people to abandon this hope. The English policy of repression, spiritual and material, has ever been active from the first intrusion of English power until the present day.

"English policy has always aimed at keeping every new accretion of population from without separate from the rest of the nation, and a cause of distraction and weakness in its midst. Nevertheless, the Irish nation has remained one with a vigorous consciousness of its nationality, and has always succeeded, sooner or later, in assimilating to its unity every new element of population.

"The Irish nation has never been intolerant toward its minorities and has never harbored the spirit of prosecution. Such barbarities as punishment by torture, witch burning, capital punishment for minor offenses, etc., so frequent in the judicial system of other countries, found no recognition in Irish law or custom.

"Twice in the seventeenth century—in 1642-8 and in 1689—when, after periods of terrible persecution and deprivation of lands and liberty the Irish people recovered for a time a dominant political power, they worked in laws and treaties a policy of full religious equality for all dwellers in the island.

"On each occasion this policy of tolerance was reversed by the English power, which, on recovering its mastery, subjected the Irish race to further large confiscations of property, restrictions of liberty and religious persecutions. More recently, notwithstanding the English policy of maintaining as complete a severance as possible, when Irish Protestants became attracted to the support of the National case, the Catholics of Ireland accorded

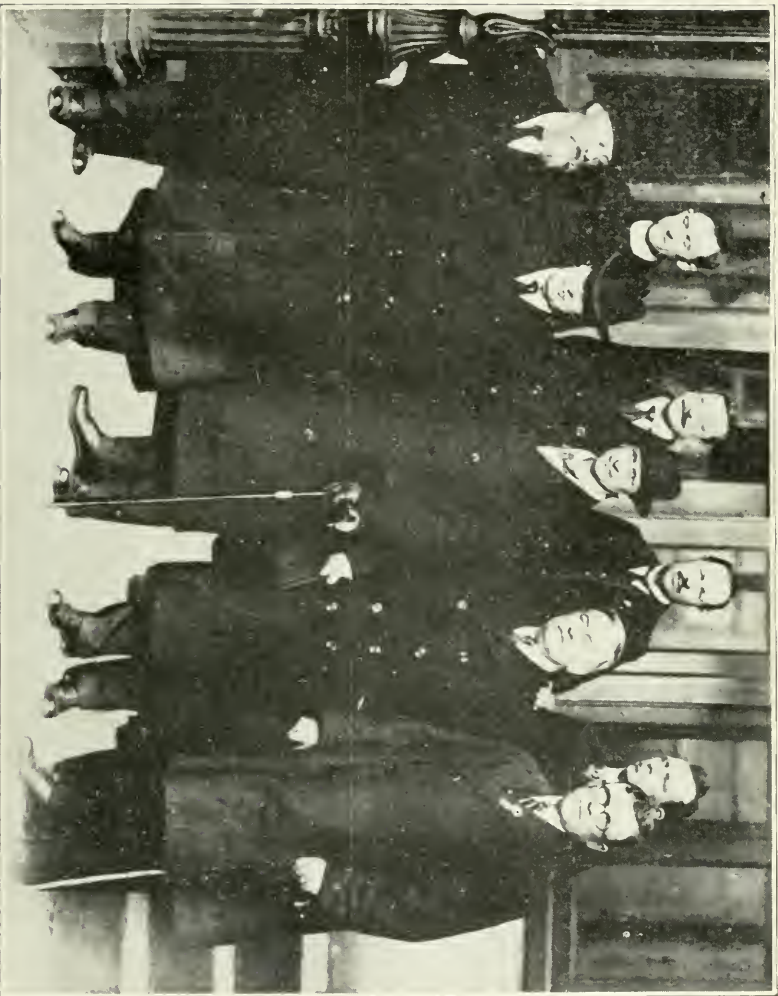


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IRISH-AMERICAN PEACE DELEGATES IN DUBLIN

FRONT ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT—COUNT PLUNKETT, EDWARD F. DUNNE, EAMONN DE

political leadership to a succession of Protestant leaders.

"The Irish have long been a thoroughly democratic people. Through their chosen leaders—from O'Connell to Parnell—they have provided the world with a model of democratic organization in opposition to the domination of the privileged classes. If Ireland, on the grounds of national right and proved ability to maintain a just government, is entitled to recover her sovereign independence—and that is her demand—the recognition of her right is due from other nations for the following reasons:

"1. Because England's claim to withhold independence from Ireland is based on a principle which is a negation of national liberty and subversive of international peace and order. England resists Ireland's demand on the ground that independence of Ireland would be, as alleged, incompatible with the security of England, or of Great Britain, or of the British Empire. Whether this contention is well or ill-founded if it is admitted, then any state is justified in suppressing the independence of any nation whose liberty that state declares to be incompatible with its own security. An endless prospect of future wars is the natural consequence.

"2. Because England's government of Ireland has been at all times, and is conspicuous at the present time, an outrage on the conscience of mankind. Such a government, especially in its modern quasi-democratic form, is essentially vicious. Its character at the best is sufficiently described by a noted English writer, John Stuart Mill:

" 'The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as the government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another as a warren or a preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm, to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants, but if the good of the governed is the proper business of a government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it.'

"3. Because the English temper toward the cause of Irish national liberty produces atrocious and intolerable results in Ireland. Among the results are: A depopulation unexampled in any other country, howsoever badly governed; wholesale destruction of industries and commerce; overtaxation on an enormous scale; diversion of rents, savings and surplus incomes from Ireland to England; opposition to the utilization by the Irish people of the economic resources of their country and to economic development and social improvement; exploitation of Ireland for the benefit of English capitalists; fomentation of religious animosities; repression of the national culture; maintenance of a mon-

strous system of police rule by which, in the words of an English minister, all Ireland is kept under the microscope; perversion of justice by making political service and political subservience almost the sole qualification for judicial positions, by an elaborate corruption of the jury system, by an organization of police espionage, and perjury and the encouragement of *agents provocateurs*, and recently and at present, by using for the purpose of political oppression in Ireland the exceptional powers created for the purposes of the European war.

"Under these powers military government is established, some areas being treated as hostile territory occupied in ordinary warfare; a war censorship is maintained over the press and over publications generally; printing offices are invaded and dismantled; the police and military are empowered to confiscate the property of vendors of literature without any legal process; persons are imprisoned without trial and deported from Ireland; Irish regiments in the English army are removed from Ireland, and a large military force, larger than at any previous time, with full equipment for modern warfare, has been maintained in Ireland; civilians are daily arrested and tried by court-martial and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

"What are England's objections to Ireland's independence? The one objection in which English statesmen are sincere is that which has been already mentioned—that the domination of Ireland by England is necessary for the security of England.

"Ireland, according to the English Navy League, is the 'Heli-goland of the Atlantic,' a naval outpost to be governed for the sole benefit of its foreign masters. This claim, if it is valid, justifies not only the suppression of national liberty, but also the weakening of Ireland by depopulation, repression of industry and commerce and culture, maintenance of internal discords, etc. It can also be held to justify the subjugation of any small nation by a neighboring great power.

"The proximity of Ireland to England furnishes another plea, but Ireland is not as near to England as Belgium, Holland, Denmark, etc., are to Germany, Norway to Sweden, Portugal to Spain. In fact, it is this very proximity that makes independence necessary for Ireland as the only condition of security against the sacrifice of Ireland's right to English interests.

"A further plea is that England, being a maritime power, her safety depending on her navy, and her prosperity depending on maritime commerce, the domination of Ireland is for her a practical necessity—a plea involving that Ireland's natural harbors, the best in Europe, must be kept empty of mercantile shipping, ex-

cept for such shipping as carries on the restricted trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

"Ireland cannot admit that the interests of one country, be they what they may, can be allowed to annul the natural rights of another country. If England's plea be admitted, then there is an end to natural rights, and all the world must be prepared to submit to armed interests or to make war against them.

"We may expect also to find the plea insinuated in some specious form if not definitely and clearly made, that the English rule in Ireland has been and is favorable to the peace, progress and civilization of Ireland. We answer that, on the contrary, English rule has never been intended for the benefit of Ireland; that it has isolated Ireland from Europe, prevented her development, and done everything in its power to deprive her of national civilization. So far as Ireland at present is lacking in internal peace; is behind other countries in education and material progress; is unable to contribute notably to the civilization of mankind; these defects are the visible consequence of English intrusion and domination.

"The Irish people have never believed in the sincerity of the public declarations of English statesmen in regard to their 'war aims' except in so far as those declarations avowed England's part in the war to have been undertaken for England's particular and imperial interests. They have never believed that England went to war for the sake of France, Belgium or Serbia, or for the protection or liberation of small nationalities, or to make right prevail against might. If English statesmen wish to be regarded as sincere, they can prove it to the world by abandoning, not in words, but in act, the claim to subordinate Ireland's liberty to England's security.

"Ireland's complete liberation must follow upon the application of President Wilson's principles. It has not resulted from verbal acceptance of those principles, and their rejection is implied in the refusal to recognize for Ireland the right of self-determination.

"If England objects to the application of those principles to the settlement of the ancient quarrel between herself and Ireland, she thereby testifies—

"(1) That her international policy is entirely based on her own selfish interest, not on the recognition of rights in others, notwithstanding any professions to the contrary.

"(2) That, in her future dealings with other nations, she may be expected, when the opportunity arises, to use her power to make her own interests prevail over their rights.

“(3) That her particular object in keeping possession of Ireland is to secure naval and mercantile domination over the seas, and in particular over the North Atlantic and the nations which have maritime interests therein, ruling Ireland at the same time on a plan of thoroughgoing exploitation for her sole benefit, to the great detriment of Ireland, and preventing the establishment of beneficial intercourse between Ireland and other countries.

“It is evident that, while Ireland is denied the right to choose freely and establish that form of government which the Irish people desire, no international order can be founded on the basis of national right and international justice, for the claim of the stronger to dominate the weaker will once more be successfully asserted, and there will be no true peace.

“It must be recognized that Ireland has already clearly demonstrated her will. At the recent general election, out of 105 constituencies, 73 returned Republican candidates, and six returned representatives who, though not Republicans, will not oppose the free exercise of self-determination by the Irish people. Nor is there the slightest likelihood that this right will at any time be relinquished.

“The Irish people are thoroughly capable of taking immediate charge of their national and international affairs, not less capable than any of the new states which have been recognized since the beginning of the war, or which are about to be recognized, and by a procedure not less valid than has been held good for other restored or newly established states. They have already formally constituted a national government.

“The effect on the world of the restoration of Ireland to the society of free nations cannot fail to be beneficial. On the part of the nations in general, the fact will be a guarantee of the new international order and a reassurance to all smaller nations.

“On the part of England, if justice to Ireland be not ‘denied or sold or delayed,’ that fact will be an earnest to other peoples, especially to those whose commerce is borne on the Atlantic Ocean, that England’s naval power is not hostile to the rights and legitimate interests of other countries.

“Ireland’s voice in the councils of the nations will be wholly in favor of peace and justice. Ireland covets no possessions and makes no territorial claims outside of her own well-defined geographical bounds. Her liberty cannot infringe on that of any other people. She will not make any war of aggression or favor any. The prosperity to which, in remembrance of her unexampled progress during a brief period of legislative, but not executive independence (1782-1789), she looks forward, confid-

ly, will contribute to the prosperity of all countries in commercial relations with her.

"The longest agony suffered by any people in history will be ended, the oldest standing enmity between two peoples will be removed. England will be relieved of the disgrace she bears in the eyes of all peoples, a disgrace not less evident to the remote Armenian than to her nearest continental neighbors.

"In proportion as England gives earnest of disinterestedness and good will, in like proportion shall Ireland show her readiness to join in with England in allowing the past to pass into history. The international ambition of Ireland will be to recreate in some new way that period of her ancient independence which she is proudest of, when she gave freely of her greatest treasures to every nation within her reach and entertained no thought of selfish advantage."

If it be indeed and in truth the common object of the governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table come ready and willing to *pay the price, the only price*, that will procure it; and ready and willing, also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled. *That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed;* and not only impartial justice but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious.

—[From President Wilson's Fourth Liberty Loan Address.]

CHAPTER XXXVI

WHY IRELAND IS A WORLD PROBLEM.

MY Protestant friends say to me: "Why don't you let up on this Irish palaver and think of the United States once in a while?"

It is because I am thinking of the United States first that I must think of Ireland before any other class of our people. The Irish question particularly is an American question first, and then a world question.

I am following a distinguished precedent, the one laid down by the President of the United States. He not only turned his thoughts to all the ethnic strains in Europe—except Ireland—and announced the solemn obligation of this country to play the role of Big Brother to the world, but he, for the first time in our history, left the country as the President of the United States, went to Europe and insisted on settling up the state affairs of innumerable small nations on that continent. He did that and he named his boat the "George Washington," not by way of irony (remembering Washington's injunction to keep away from European alliances and entanglements) but no doubt because he felt sincerely that the United States was to continue to save the world in times of peace and that the name of Washington was something more than sentiment—it typified the soul of the Republic.

But here is what confuses me. Why is it right to try to bring peace to Korea, to Syria, to Armenia, to Jugo-Slavia, to Czecho-Slovakia, to Esthonia and Finland and the Ukraine and all the rest, and ignore just one people—Ireland? Why is it perfectly proper for Julius Rosenwald to interest himself in the suffering Jews of Europe and all wrong, even un-American, as my Protestant associates declaim, to speak a word of sympathy for Ireland? Why is it an act of great worthiness for John Smulski to appeal to the United States to help Poland secure her autonomy and for supplies from the United States to maintain the population under the terrible aftermath of the devastating war, and all wrong, even un-American, to suggest that we might extend a helping hand, if no more than sympathy, to Ireland? The heart of the nation is with Rosenwald and Smulski. It is right that it should be. Why is it cold when Ireland is mentioned?

Why is it that we are privileged, by some occult rule, to express our warmest sympathies with all other peoples in Europe but are stopped short when it comes to Ireland? We may not even

mention the name! And we have more people of Irish descent in the United States, more true-blue, loyal and patriotic citizens of that ethnic strain than any other. It is particularly true of the Irishman in the United States that he is first for the United States, and has been in every war that this country has been engaged in. For the United States he fought in France, even though by so fighting he was aiding one nation in the world—England—that he has no sympathy for at all.

We need not recite the history of the United States, from the days of Bunker Hill to now. The average person is familiar with that history and the part Irishmen have played in it. A commission from King George's parliament inquired into the trouble with the colonies and they reported back to that parliament that the war of independence in the United States was a war of Irishmen, driven out of Ireland, on England.

But why is Ireland a world question? For these reasons:

After the fall of the Roman Empire men from Ireland picked up and saved the tangled skeins of civilization, such as it was, for the following five hundred years. Ireland was the one country on the outposts of the Atlantic which was not touched by the migrations of the nations in those dark ages. It sent its learned men back into the darkness to bear the light of Christianity, to keep the faith, and literally carried out the injunction to go into all parts of the world, even the furthestmost parts. In those dark ages Ireland was the one seat of learning in the world.

The two great apostles of the Irish mission were Columcille in Great Britain and Columbanus in Europe. Mrs. Green states that in all Irish history there is no greater figure than St. Columcille—statesman and patriot, poet, scholar and saint. He did for pagan England in those dark years what St. Patrick had done for Ireland. He established schools of learning, carried the beacon light of Christianity and implanted classical learning in what was then a pagan realm—England. He was, says Mrs. Green, the "greatest missionary that Ireland ever sent out to proclaim the gathering of peoples in free associations through the power of human brotherhood, learning and religion."

As we proceed from here it is to be kept in mind that wherever the Irish scholars and monks went they not only established monasteries and schools—they laid down the principle of the brotherhood of man, of human liberty, of the right of peoples to choose their own way of life and obedience, provided that way was based on the Christian and not the pagan philosophy. That trait seems especially to be the rock bottom of Irish character. Whether monk or teacher or warrior, whether in the

sixth century or the twentieth century, the men from Ireland have in them what was born in them at the beginning of the world—the love of human liberty.

“They taught the English writing,” proceeds Mrs. Green, “and gave them the letters which were used among them till the Norman conquest. Labour and learning went hand in hand. From the king’s court nobles came, rejoicing to change the brutalities of war for the plough, the forge-hammer, the winnowing fan. Waste places were reclaimed, the ports were crowded with boats, and monasteries gave shelter to travelers. In 662 there was only one bishop in the whole of England who was not of Irish consecration, and this bishop, Agilberct of Wessex, was a Frenchman who had been trained for years in Ireland.”

The old doggerel about Ireland being a nation when England was a diminutive canine is historically true. Irish nationality and nationhood antedate England by centuries.

Columbanus left Ireland for the continent about 575, sailing out of Belfast Lough. He was accompanied by twelve Irish monks. They crossed Gaul, partly by way of the Loire, and first stopped to found their great school at Luxeuil in the Vosges. Others of his entourage were sent across France and Switzerland, founding schools and carrying the message of the brotherhood of man. He himself laid the foundation of the monastery of Bobio in the Apennines where he closed his earthly career in 615. Columbanus was a profound scholar, and when he left Ireland he took with him a knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, according to the annals, and was a man of fine taste and no living being excelled him in rhetoric, geometry and poetry.

Following his death Ireland continued to send to the uttermost parts of the earth her teachers and kept up this flood of learning for four hundred years without ceasing, battling the pagan tribes and leading them from paganism to the light of the Gallileean, whose teachings, first of all, were founded on brotherhood, and not on caste.

These missionaries followed the Rhine into Switzerland, and by way of the Elbe and the Danube they reached Old Saxony, Thuringia, Bavaria, Salzburg and Carinthia. They crossed the Alps into Italy, reaching Lucca, Fiesole, Rome, Naples and Tarentum. They pushed on to Jerusalem and Egypt, founding a school in ancient Carthage.

It has been asserted that in the seventh and eighth centuries there was not a teacher of Greek in western Europe who was not an Irishman or who had not been taught by an Irishman. Charles the Great put Irishmen from Ireland at the heads of all the cele-



SCENE IN HOUSE OF COMMONS WHEN JOHN DILLON WAS EXPELLED
FROM THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, 1902.

brated schools of Europe. Whether he was monk or tutor, these Irish of the dark ages planted the seeds of what were to grow into national aspirations, even self-government, in every known land.

Beginning with the seventeenth century English greed, ruthlessness and stupidity further dispersed over the world the teachers from Ireland. In confiscating the Irish lands and driving the natives from their homes, England sent other streams of patriots across Europe, teaching of the Christ but also teaching the wrongs of England. King James had stolen Ulster and planted the "foreigner" there. Cromwell had come upon the scene, with a Bible in one hand and a sword in the other, chopping off the heads of the children, since, as he said, "nits will be lice." His soldiers amused themselves by throwing little children in the air and catching them on pike poles as they came down. They did it in the name of Jesus of Nazareth! Then consigned those that survived "to hell or Connaught."

Twenty thousand Irish fled from their homes and reached a haven in the West Indies, there to plant the seeds of hatred of England. Historians estimate that fully 30,000 were seeking a place to lay their heads in Europe, while another 4,000 had gone to Flanders to fight in the wars. Many distinguished scholars, driven from their own institutions in Ireland, hastened to the Irish schools established by the missionaries in Europe.

"They became," records Mrs. Green, "chancellors of universities, professors, high officials in every European state—a Kerry man physician to the king of Poland; another Kerry man confessor to the queen of Portugal and sent by the king on an embassy to Louis XIV; a Donegal man, O'Glacan, physician and privy councillor to the king of France, and a very famed professor of medicine in the universities of Toulouse and Bologna (1646-1655). We may ask, whether in the history of the world there was sent out of any country such genius, learning and industry as the English flung, as it were, into the sea. With every year the number of exiles grew. 'The same to me,' wrote one, 'are the mountain or ocean, Ireland or the west of Spain; I have shut and made fast the gates of sorrow over my heart.'"

There was bitter resentment of the Germans when they bombarded and burned Louvain on their march across Belgium in the fall of 1914. I saw Louvain after that terrible conflagration that pained the heart of the great cardinal (Mercier) so poignantly. It was there he had built up his school and his renowned class in philosophy.

And what names, would you suppose, are among the most revered in Louvain, even to this day? Listen: The O'Neills,

the O'Dohertys, the O'Donnells, the Lynches, the Murphys and scores of other names that were bred in Ireland. Here, in the early part of the seventeenth century and on through the century, gathered the exiles from Erin, the teachers, at the Franciscan College of St. Anthony of Padua. In the monastery of the *Frères de Charité* are today relics of that band of exiles.

"Here I break off till morning," wrote one, "and I in gloom and grief; and during my life's length unless only that I might have one look at Ireland."

That was their burden through the centuries in every spot in Europe, in Asia, in Egypt, the burden of the exiles from Erin whom England had thrust out of their native huts; longing for just one look of the old land before death overtook them. We can understand, by familiarizing ourselves with the real Irish history, why Irishmen today in the United States have that wonderful affection for the old land, even those Irishmen who never saw it. It is bone of their bone and blood of their blood.

We have in one of the public parks of Chicago a statue of Havlicek, the Czech patriot. It is often covered with floral wreaths—the love of the children of Bohemia who still honor a patriot. Well, Havlicek spent about as much of his life in the Hapsburgs' jails as De Valera has in his majesty's gaols. And, finally, Havlicek hit upon a clever scheme. Instead of assailing the Hapsburgs he would tell his people the story of Ireland—how Ireland was being oppressed and her national spirit crushed beneath the tyrant's heel. He drew the analogy so vividly that his people knew he was telling them their own story.

We think we have an Irish problem in the United States. We have. But it is only about a hundred and fifty years old. In every country in Europe they have had the Irish inspiration since the beginning of the sixth century. Ireland and Irish genius mean much to the nations of western Europe. Irish are not spoken of in those countries as the "professional" or the "wild Irish." The name of Hibernia is pronounced in a spirit of esteem and great respect. The scholarship of Europe springs from the monks of Ireland and has its roots in the very dark ages of the world's history when there were no other scholars left in the world to preserve the link between Jesus Christ and His Apostles and the modern world. And wherever an Irish exile set foot, even in India and Africa, after 1170, he told the story, not wrathfully but in anguish, of the sorrow of his dear land whence he had been cast out by the English. In later years they took up the sword for human freedom for every people, and with the greatest gusto and enthusiasm when that sword was raised against

England.

Germany for fifty years endeavored by the most intense scientific efficiency to make Alsace-Lorraine German, and with what success we have seen. England has endeavored for *seven hundred and fifty* years to make Ireland English, and has failed more ignominiously than did the royal cousin of Potsdam in his French provinces. It is the *rule of a nation by a nation* that virile men and men of lofty moral courage of the Irish type resent, and it matters not whether the one grandson of Victoria attempts the immoral scheme in Strasbourg or her other grandson persists in it in Dublin.

Ireland's indictment of England is of more than seven hundred years' standing. It is not of recent birth. And there are 20,000,000 of them in the United States! One-fifth of our population!

It is not a question of whether we like the Irish, of whether we look upon the Catholic with brutal bigotry, or whether we have no personal concern as to what may happen to them or their island. It is a vital question for every student who wants peace to come to the human family the world over. We are facing the tidal wave of bitter feeling that has been rolling up across the centuries, a tidal wave that is affecting seriously many great nations of the earth. It is of vital moment to our peace of mind in the United States with respect to removing from our politics and our domestic problems a confusion that can be removed in a night. How? Free Ireland!

England owes that much to the peace of the world. She owes that much to the United States if she would bring to her future well being with a turn of the hand the good will and sympathetic understanding of all the people of the United States, including the Irish.

I, for one, will wipe out all the resentment toward England that was born in me if she will do that much. The pride of ancestry shall not prevail against my forbearance. Perhaps for me she will not do it. "I" do not count. She might, though, do it for millions of us.

Who can tell?

And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and rocks: Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of His wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

APPENDIX A.

IRELAND'S ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND HER PART IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE WORLD WAR.

Ireland's revenue last year (1918) was approximately \$150,000,000, of which \$100,000,000 was an excess tax for the maintenance of the British war organization.

The 1918 revenue was \$55,000,000 greater than that of Holland, nine times greater than that of Switzerland, and equaled the combined revenues of Denmark, Switzerland, Norway and Greece. All of these countries maintain an army, some a fleet as well, a diplomatic and consular service throughout the world, and a government by men of their own race.

Ireland's \$150,000,000 imperial taxation was used in paying the cost of the rule of Ireland by Englishmen and in helping to maintain England's imperial exchequer in the promotion of a war to bring other small nations a democracy.

Ireland is three times as large as Belgium, two and one-half times the size of Holland, and more fertile than either.

Spain, with twenty-five per cent more revenue than Ireland, maintains a fleet and army, and administers the affairs of a population four times greater than that of Ireland.

Within the last 100 years Belgium, Greece, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Roumania, Montenegro, Italy, Norway, most of the continent of South America, Cuba, Finland, the Ukraine and others ethnic strains have thrown off the alien governments and regained their national autonomy.

In the majority of these cases the financial resources and the ability to maintain the respective independent governments were vastly inferior to Ireland's.

Under normal conditions England's trade with Ireland is second only to her trade with the United States, aggregating about \$850,000,000 annually. About 97 per cent of Ireland's foreign commerce is with England.

By cleverly devised regulations and administrative enactments England has shut off Ireland from direct connections with foreign countries. This prevention of free trading between Ireland and foreign countries works a hardship on both Ireland and the countries with which she might engage in a profitable exchange of commodities.

Practically all American commercial relations with Ireland are

conducted by English middlemen. This system handicaps the sale of Irish goods in America and American goods in Ireland, adding to the cost to the ultimate consumer, and gives English-made goods an advantage over American manufacture.

In 1845 Ireland's population was between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000. Today it is a little over 4,000,000, chargeable to the rule of the "alien."

In 1894 a royal commission was appointed to consider the question of Ireland's taxation. On this commission were such experts as Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, Sir B. Currie, Sir D. Barbour and Sir R. Hamilton, and several Irish Nationalists and Unionists. In 1896 the commission reported that Ireland, since 1853, was annually overtaxed \$10,000,000, which ratio, if extended to 1917, would aggregate \$640,000,000.

Up to the coming of the French it was estimated that there were one hundred Irish soldiers to one of any other nation in George Washington's army, and at the crisis of the struggle for independence fifty per cent of the army was Irish.

Nine of the signers of the American Declaration of Independence were Irish.

An Irishman named Charles Thomson, born in Derry, Ireland, was secretary of the Continental Congress and wrote the first copy of the Declaration of Independence from the draft made by Thomas Jefferson.

An Irishman named John Dunlap, a native of the County Tyrone, Ireland, was the first printer and publisher of the Declaration of Independence.

Archbishop Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland, the son of an Irishman and cousin of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, drew up that section of the American Constitution which assures religious liberty to all denominations.

The first naval battle in the American Revolution was won by five sons of Matthew O'Brien who was a native of Cork, Ireland.

Commodore John Barry, father of the American navy, who commanded the Lexington, the first war vessel that sailed from Philadelphia and later bore the American flag to victory, was born in County Wexford, Ireland.

Joseph Reed, the son of an Irishman, was the first aide-de-camp appointed by George Washington.

An anti-recruiting society, known as the "White Boys," was organized in Ireland for the purpose of preventing enlistments in his majesty's regiments for service against the American colonists, and during the war American privateers were welcomed in Irish ports by the sympathizers with the colonists and were sup-

plied with provisions and information as to the whereabouts of the English ships.

The first woman to fight for American liberty and the first of her sex to receive a pension from the United States government for services in the war of the revolution was Margaret Cochran, an Irish woman born in Ireland.

The son of an Irishman, Robert Fulton, designed and built the first steamboat.

An Irishman born in Cork, Ireland, named Christopher Colles, was the first man to propose the linking of the Great Lakes with the Atlantic ocean, and the project was carried out under the direction of Governor DeWitt Clinton, the grandson of an Irishman.

An Irishman named Henry O'Reilly built the first telegraph line in America.

An Irish woman named Mary Healy was the first female school teacher in New England, and perhaps the first in America.

The American army sent to France in the world war was upwards of one-third Irish and of Irish descent.

Captain Thomas F. McMahon of the Irish Guards, an Oxford man, on recruiting duty with the British and Canadian recruiting mission in the United States, on October 5, 1917, gave out the following interview:

"It's a pity some of you American newspaper men were not with the forces in the first couple of years of the war," he said. "I mean, close up, where you could get the stories first hand, and not after they had filtered through. There would be something worth writing about.

"Now, mind you, I am not making comparisons, for all our troops fought with the greatest spirit—Scotch, English, Welch and Dominion forces. But somehow or other it seemed that little attention was paid to the Irish; and undoubtedly it is due to this fact, and to the ignorance of the whole Irish question by the papers here, supplemented by cables from across that are often based upon imagining of the writers, that today our race is placed in a doubtful position.

"But what I am getting at is the apparent feeling that because conscription was held up for Ireland so many people here seem to think we have done nothing. The issue has been clouded here. If you were to read the big papers at home you would see that there was a considerable antagonism against the plan among the big men in England in the Commons and the Lords; that it was not Ireland alone that objected.

"Never mind that. Just consider the fighting facts. Take the

Irish Guards. I'm not boasting because it is my unit, but we have won more honors than any other regiment fighting under the English flag, except the Royal Irish and the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. And when I left home out of 1,100 of us, officers and men, there remained less than a dozen who were still on the list of effectives. And other Irish regiments have suffered about as badly.

"In one sector 16 officers and 597 men were lost by the Irish Guards in fighting for some 200 yards of ground. Of one battalion but 47 answered roll-call. When the Germans swooped down on the Gordon Highlands and there were left but 170 of them, with annihilation starting them, the Connaught Rangers came up and turned the tide.

"Against 2,000 Germans the 800 Connaught and 170 Gordons slashed forward, and when the battle ended 470 Germans were wiped out and 70 more were prisoners. Later on, in a charge against the German entrenched positions, a battalion of the Munsters were the only ones to storm the trenches, and out of 800 that went over the top across 800 yards of open plain against a murderous fire but 200 men and three officers survived.

"In one engagement the Liverpool Irish took a trench, and then aiding the French, took three miles of the Hun lines. At Festubert the 2d Inniskillings by a daring attack made it possible for the whole division to sweep on and win where another division had been defeated.

"It would take a whole page to tell the Dardanelles and Gallipoli story, that cost the 10th Irish Division more than a third of its forces. Just imagine trying to land on Revere Beach, not realizing that the water had been covered with barbed wire attached to hundreds of mines.

"And the landing place only a narrow strip with hills rising above, having concealed many machine guns, field pieces, riflemen, etc., and topped by a fort, all within a stone's throw of the invaders. The Dublins and Munsters were sent to land against the strongest position.

"The Dublins, who started ashore in boats, were wiped out wholesale, as they neared the beach, from bullets and contact mines. It was pitiful to see the boats, battered and torn from the hail of lead, with the men mangled in heaps so the little craft drifted unmanageable with the tide past other ships, survivors told me.

"Only a few of the Dublins got ashore. Then the Munsters were ordered to get ready to take their turn. They saw all this, a lot of young kids making their first venture into warfare. Out

of the sides of a troopship they flowed onto lighters and pontoons, where the Turks had exact range.

"Two out of every three toppled over killed or wounded, but they kept on getting into the water and making the landing. It was murderous, but they did it, though some 700 of the 7,000 Munsters were killed, wounded or drowned. At night others landed without losing a man.

"The Irish were not through yet. After all the pounding they got there the 10th Division was sent to aid the Serbian Army. Gen. Sarraïl, the man who beat the Crown Prince at Verdun, said the Irish performed in the Serbian mountain passes one of the most striking feats of the whole war.

"Fighting a rear guard action against an enemy of 10 to 1 they stopped the onslaught so successfully that the entire French and British forces escaped without losing a wagon or a gun.

"It was in that retreat that the 2d Munsters were lost. They had fought gloriously all along, saving the guns of a battery by taking the places of horses, bringing the pieces back five miles. Acting as rear guard to the First Army Corps, they held a couple of crossroads.

"When the ammunition ran out they fought with their bayonets, but one regiment could not defeat seven battalions of infantry, three batteries of artillery, some squadrons of cavalry and the machine gun units. Yet that is what the Munsters faced, and held long enough to let the First Corps get safely away. Four officers and 256 men were lost.

"The story of how the London Irish played football across No Man's Land in the advance upon Loos is one of the wonderful stories of the big war.

"For two days the London Irish resisted terrific counter charges and held fast till relieved. The general in command addressed the remnant of them on their return, telling them their fight was one of the grandest in the war, and it had helped save an entire army corps.

"Guillemont and Guinchy are two names added to the standards of the Irish regiments of both North and South. The first place was captured against heavy odds. Then there was a lull for a few days.

"Guinchy was believed by the Germans to be too strong to be captured. But battalions from all the Irish regiments were put into action and the result was victory once more. Yet the cost was high for the Irish.

"It was merely history repeating itself there, for a year before, when the Germans had taken Guinchy from the Coldstreams our

men from the Irish Guards recaptured it. The Coldstreams had made a brave attempt to retake it, but they were forced back. So the Irish Guards swept through them and wiped the Germans out. That was the time Mike O'Leary won his V. C. O'Leary had been promoted a major the last I heard from him.

"One could go on and tell a lot more stories like those named which were episodes of the first couple of years. For example of how the Irish are mixed into other regiments. One finds a number of such men winning honors for units outside Ireland. Here are some Victoria Cross men :

"Kenny of the Gordon Highlands is a Drogheda man. Toombs of a Liverpool regiment is a Down man. Caffrey of the Lancasters, Dwyer of the Surreys, Rochfort of the Scots Guards, Dease, City of London Regiment, the first officer to win a cross in the war; Moutray-Read of the Northamptonshires; Wheeler, 7th Haryana Lancers; Butler, Gold Coast Regiment, Africa; Brooke, another Gordon Highland; Hogan of the Manchesters, Kennealy of the Lancashires, Lynn of the same regiment, all Irishmen, won their honors in the early days, and their ranks have been increased large since.

"Whole armies have been saved by Irish troops. The officers of all ranks in all armies will tell you of forlorn hopes being turned into victory and of impregnable places captured.

"When the war began Ireland sent into the fighting zone some fifteen distinctively Irish regiments from all four provinces. And as the war developed there were the London Irish, Liverpool Irish and Tyneside Irish. And in the Scotch, Welsh and English regiments were many more Irishmen.

"Then there came from overseas some regiments like the Vancouver Irish Fusiliers, the Quebec Irish, a South African Irish regiment, and from Australia came others—some fifty per cent of the men from there being of that race. And we had thousands in the navy.

"We raised the 10th, the 16th and the 36th Irish Divisions, and we sent thousands across to keep up the strength of our units. Yet a few days ago I read in a paper here that Ireland had contributed but ten per cent of soldiers, while Scotland and other places had contributed forty per cent.

"Official figures available show that up to January last Erin had contributed 58.1 per cent of her available man power. Now these figures mean only the men who were listed following a military census. It does not include the men who were in the English army and navy when the war broke out.

"Nor does it include those Irishmen working in Britain who

swelled the ranks of the units across the Channel, men who, if at home, would have gone into Irish regiments. And they were all volunteers. Thousands have enlisted since the Dublin uprising.

"The battle of Ypres has gone into history, and because of their dash and daring two Irish battalions were practically wiped out. They were the 2d Leinsters and the Royal Irish. The Leinsters held out a day and a half until French troops saved them, but the Royal Irish were cut off and all but a few were killed or captured.

"Admittedly, the Irish have not been surpassed in fighting on any battle front, and at times they performed the supposedly impossible, such as the Suvla Bay landing, where Vonder Golz, the German genius, had constructed what he and other prominent officers claimed was an impregnable position, a veritable death trap for attackers. And, remember, the Turks are brave fighters.

"But they (the Irish) have no official shouters proclaiming their deeds from the housetops, nor authors enshrining their valor in words. In fact, the dispatches from Gallipoli telling of the work of the Irish division could be put in two inches of type in your paper.

"So it is time we said a few things about ourselves.

"If you knew what the men who have been through the battles believe—officers of all ranks in all armies—who know of forlorn hopes turning the tide to victory, of impregnable places captured, of divisions—yes, whole armies, being saved by Irish troops, you would have a ready answer to those who seem to think that we have done little, and are doing nothing now.

"We are doing our fighting in the present big push. We need no apologies, no defense. Our standards tell the story."

Lindsay Crawford, formerly of Ulster, one of the founders of the Independent Orangemen of Ulster, in his St. Patrick day address at Toronto, Canada, 1917, said:

"We are asking nothing from England. Nothing from British statesmen that is not ours.

"We are simply asking them to restore the title deeds of our nation, to restore to our country the liberty they wrested from her, to restore to our country her parliamentary rights.

"Irishmen ask England for nothing theirs—the right to live as a free people, the right to mould their own destiny, the right to raise their own taxes, the right to educate their own children, the right to make that country Irish from top to bottom.

"If Ireland be left to the mercy of her oppressor, while the Poles, Czechs, Slavs, Finns, Belgians and Serbians are guaran-

teed their liberty, the ideals of America as expressed by President Wilson remain unfulfilled and the world will not be 'made safe for Democracy.' Until the adult population of Ireland is granted self-determination in the freest and fullest manner, and the desires of her people guaranteed by a League of Nations, there can be no peace in the world."

APPENDIX B

SKETCH OF DE VALERA'S LIFE.

EAMONN DE VALERA'S father was Vivian De Valera, a direct descendant from the lexicographer to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Perhaps the ancestor may have importuned the royal pair in behalf of Columbus. Eamonn's father was of a romantic turn of mind and loved the sea. He came to the shores of Ireland and there met, wooed and wed Kate Coll of Limerick. They came to America where Eamonn was born. His father died when he was two and one-half years old, and he was sent back to his mother's people in Limerick where he was reared and educated. He married Miss S. O'Flannigan, an accomplished Gaelic student and who first imparted to him the patriotism and inspiration of the ancient language. They have six children. The residence is at Greystones, Ireland, a suburb of Dublin.

The following intimate sketch of De Valera's boyhood and his participation in the Easter insurrection is furnished by Harry J. Boland, the youth who engineered De Valera's escape from Lincoln prison in England and who now is his private secretary:

Eamonn De Valera, president of the Irish Republic, is in his native city. He is here as the direct representative of the people of Ireland to the people of America. He is the elected president of the elected government of the Irish nation which has deliberately determined itself as a Republic. He was chosen by adult suffrage, through the peaceful, democratic machinery of the ballot. Nominated by no small group of special interests, nor yet self-appointed, De Valera was freely chosen by a three to one majority of the Irish people, as the duly accredited spokesman of the Irish nation. He is therefore entitled to speak for Ireland, with an authority, from the standpoint of democracy, equal to that of the President of the United States, or of the Premier of France or of Great Britain.

President De Valera has undertaken this journey at the request of his government. His presence is intended to mark, in a conspicuous manner, the esteem in which the Irish people hold the people of America. His personal connection with this country, coupled with his well known affection for it, in addition to his qualifications as a statesman, make him a suitable Ambassador.

The visit of the President of the Irish Republic to America at

this time is fraught with grave importance. He comes with a plan of reconstruction for Ireland, and will endeavor to interest American industries in the broad field of Irish commerce. He will float in America a bond issue of the Irish Republic, that will start that new Republic on a financial plane equalled by few and excelled by none. He will appeal to official America to stand by the Irish Republic and recognize it before the world.

He was educated at Brurea, Charleville, and the French College, Blackrock, County Dublin, in both the intermediate and university departments. Later he attended lectures at the National University, and at Trinity College, Dublin. Distinguished as a student in his younger days, as he is today as a statesman, Eamonn De Valera, at every stage of his college career, won scholarships, prizes and degrees in arts, science and pedagogy.

He taught the special honors courses in mathematical science, pure and applied, in the principal Dublin university colleges for men and women, to students of the late Royal University of Ireland, at Blackrock, St. Stephen's Green, Eccles Street, Loretto, and later was lecturer in these courses at Maynooth College. For ten years he was professor at the National Training College for primary teachers, and was mathematical examiner for the intermediate and National University and examiner in Irish for the Royal College of Surgeons. When the Easter Week insurrection took place in 1916, De Valera was engaged in reasearch work in quaternion analysis (a powerful space calcalus, the invention of an Irishman, Sir William Rowan Hamilton, of Trinity College) under the directorship of Dr. Conway, N. U. I., at the National University.

It is safe to say that there is no man of his age in Ireland today who has had such an extensive experience in educational affairs. He was placed first with the late Professor Harper for the chair of mathematical physics by the governing body of the University College, Cork, and has testimonials from some of the most distinguished mathematicians in Europe. Early in the movement to revive the ancient language of Ireland, De Valera mastered the language, teaching in many of the colleges that had been established by the Gaelic League.

During the insurrection of Easter Week, 1916, President De Valera was given the "Ringsend"—Mount Street area, Dublin—to hold with his battalion. Here, with little more than one hundred men, he withstood the entire force of the two divisions of the English army, which marched with artillery on the city of Dublin, from Kingstown. His main position was still unshaken when he received the order of his commander-in-chief, Padraic

Pearse, to surrender.

In his report of that insurrection, the British general stated that in this area the British casualties were far higher than in any other, while the records show that De Valera's casualties were very slight. British officials spoke in the highest terms of the excellence of his tactics, and those who were taken prisoners by him testified to the chivalrous courtesy and kindness with which he treated them.

When he surrendered, De Valera was tried by court martial and sentenced to be shot, but owing to the flaming tide of public indignation which had arisen against the execution, in America as well as in Ireland, and because of the several official protests of American senators and congressmen who were particularly interested in his case, on account of his American birth, the sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. He was the only one of that heroic band of Dublin commandments to escape execution, and was included in the first batch of political prisoners that were sent to the convict prison at Dartmoor. There he was joined, a few days later, by groups of patriots from all over Ireland, to the number of sixty-five.

The English convict system is very severe, and a vigorous discipline is always maintained. Absolute silence is the unalterable rule. Prisoners are searched four times each day, are locked in their cells twenty-three out of every twenty-four hours. During one hour of exercise allowed a prisoner each day the men are compelled to march five paces apart, eyes front. To smile is an offense; to speak, unpardonable. When a prisoner wants to see the governor of the jail, or the doctor, he must stand with his nose to the wall, until such time as that "dignitary" chooses to put in an appearance. Such were the conditions that confronted the Irish patriots when they reached the prisons of England.

President De Valera and his fellow patriots stood this for just six weeks, when Professor Eoin McNeill of the National University, Dublin, arrived to serve a life sentence. McNeill was the last of the band to arrive. He had been Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Volunteers, but, it will be remembered, took no part in the insurrection.

With McNeill in the prison the Irish Volunteers were complete. He had arrived during the night, and made his first appearance at the morning parade the following day. Eamonn De Valera, as senior officer, recognizing the former Commander-in-Chief in the line, called his fellow prisoners to the salute:

"Irish Volunteers! Attention! Eyes Left!"

The wardens of the jail were dumbfounded. They were made

to realize that the convict tunics had not dimmed the old spirit of defiance, and that the men with whom they had to deal were neither murderers, forgers, nor criminals. They were soldiers!

A few days later De Valera was ordered punished for passing a loaf of bread to a comrade who was being starved. The punishment meted out to him for this dire offense was the most humiliating in the prison category—that of picking oakum, a coarse, hard rope which the prisoner picks into fine strands. This De Valera refused to do, on the ground that it was not work, but degradation. Then, being charged with refusal to work, he went on a hunger strike until the charge was withdrawn.

Finally, De Valera was removed from Dartmoor prison and transferred to Maidstone convict prison, where he was herded with the criminals of England and separated from his fellow Irish prisoners. Here he fought for the rights of prisoners-of-war. In the meantime the Irish people were protesting vigorously against the treatment the English government was giving the Irish prisoners. The claim was made that in the insurrection the insurrectionists had obeyed all the rules of modern warfare, even British officers bearing the tribute to the cleanness of the fight.

When De Valera demanded the rights of prisoners-of-war for the Irish Volunteers, there were 2,000 Irishmen interned in Frongoch internment camp. These men were being treated as prisoners-of-war by England. The demand was made that all men who had taken part in the insurrection be similarly treated. As a result of the pressure of public opinion in Ireland as well as in England, and since England had inscribed on her war banners, "The Freedom of Small Nations" while having imprisoned in her own country the soldiers of a small nation who had fought for the freedom of their country, England decided that it was necessary to placate public opinion. So she released the 2,000 interned men of Frongoch and brought all the remaining 125 convicts (including De Valera) to Lewes prison, where certain slight concessions were made to them. They were allowed to converse while at exercise, but still the degradation of the convict dress and the lesser discipline of the prison was enforced upon them.

After a few months at Lewes the Irish prisoners agreed that the time had arrived when a vigorous protest was necessary to win the rights of prisoners-of-war. De Valera waited his opportunity. The news was trickling through the prison bars that huge meetings were being held in Ireland, demanding that England treat her prisoners according to the rules of civilized warfare. One of the Irish prisoners, owing to the continued confinement, was in very poor health, and his release was ordered, on medical

grounds. De Valera grasped the opportunity offered by the release of this prisoner to send word to the leaders of the movement in Ireland. He unfolded his plans to them and asked their opinion as to the advisability of starting a fight behind the prison walls. A code had been agreed upon and De Valera awaited results.

He fully realized the grave responsibility in committing 125 men to a fight that must end, either in death or in freedom. The convict system adopted by England is very rigorous, and it has proved sufficient to break the toughest criminals of the British Empire. De Valera knew full well that the British government would not permit the prison discipline to be broken, without taking drastic measures to enforce it.

The people of Ireland, through their leaders, decided that the time for action had arrived. They were willing to throw all else in one balance, to strike for justice. So, on Whitsunday morning, 1917, an innocent telegram was handed to one of the Irish prisoners by the British jailer. It bore the news of the death of a relative. This was the signal for which De Valera and his fellow prisoners waited! The following morning, after exercise, when all the prisoners were lined up to go to their different work, De Valera stepped out of the ranks and handed his ultimatum to the principal warder. He demanded for his men the status of prisoners-of-war, and declared that they would no longer obey the discipline of the prison. This was deemed mutiny. The governor of the prison announced that he could not discuss the matter and ordered the men to their work. The men refused to answer the order of the governor, and each man, being questioned individually, replied that he would receive orders from no one save Commandant De Valera.

The men were then returned to their cells where they were confined for one week. The eighth day dawned bringing no change in the situation, and De Valera, at a given signal, ordered the men to wreck their cells. This they did, effectively. All the windows and the cell furniture were completely destroyed. There were twenty-four panes of glass in each cell, and 125 times 24 gives the total of the glass that came crashing through the cells like the thunderbolt of doom. Terror struck the prison as the terrific noise sounded through the corridors.

This action brought an answer from the British Home Office, and the men were transferred to the convict prisons of Maidstone, Parkhurst and Portland. The men were chained together in groups as they travelled through the country, and as they reached their respective prisons, they continued the fight with unabated

vigor. The matter resolved itself into a question of England's convict system against the spirit and defiance of the Irish Volunteers. The news, of course, had reached Ireland and protest meetings had been held all over the country. Mr. Balfour had just returned from America, and, no doubt, informed his government that their treatment of the Irish prisoners, and their treatment of Ireland generally, was not approved by the liberty loving people of America. Finally, as a result of the pressure of public opinion from without, and the breaking down of the prison discipline within, England opened her prison gates and the Irish Volunteers marched out, free men!

On leaving Pentonville prison, De Valera was handed a cablegram, asking him to accept the nomination as Republican candidate for the vacancy in the House of Parliament caused by the death of Capt. Willie Redmond. East Clare had been the stronghold of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Mr. P. Lynch, K. C., a native of the constituency, with influential business and family connections, generally looked upon as a man who could not be beaten in a contest in his own country was the man with whom De Valera was to measure his steel for the seat in Parliament.

De Valera's first act on arriving in Clare was to read the proclamation issued by the insurgents of Easter Week. He asked the people of Clare to say by their vote that the men who declared the Irish Republic in Dublin in 1916 truly represented the feelings and aspirations of the Irish people. On the moment of his arrival De Valera captured young and old by his clear enunciation of Ireland's rights to sovereign independence, by his repudiation of England's right to rule in Ireland, and by his dashing personality. He captured Clare by the hitherto unheard of majority of three to one.

He was again arrested on May 18, 1918, and deported to England and locked up. He escaped from Lincoln prison in the spring of 1919 and shortly thereafter came to America, eluding the entire police and the secret service agents of the British Empire.

APPENDIX C

DE VALERA'S ADDRESS IN CHICAGO

De Valera's complete address was as follows:

"My friends: Since I have come to your land, I have admired its magnitude; I have admired the splendor of your buildings, but it is not these things that have appealed to me as showing me I was in America. It was the new spirit that I encountered in this country.

"You have the grand enthusiasm which is associated only with youth; you have the boyishness of youth, which makes us in the old world feel stale.

"I had gotten a sample of Americans and I had gotten a good sample of Chicago, I think, when I met Governor Dunne. I knew you would not have honored him in this great city as you did honor him unless he were a good sample, but I thought that joyousness, that youth about him was something individual and particular to himself. But I find that it is not; that it is characteristic of this city, and that it is characteristic of Americans wherever I have found them since I have come here.

"As I looked at an Indian here, the thought struck me that, if you had the blood of millions on your national soul, neither could you be enthusiastic and sympathetic as you are.

"It is because the national soul of your country is pure, you have trodden on no peoples, you have stood out for liberty, the same liberty that you won yourselves by fighting your oppressors.

"You have stood out for that liberty, and because you are pure in your national soul, in the words of your own poet, you 'can look the whole world in the face,' and be what your heart prompts you to be.

"Resolutions which were proposed, and which were adopted, particularly the one about the League of Nations, contained in them the grounds on which Americans were out of sympathy with the proposed covenant and were opposed to it.

"These grounds were purely American grounds, and I, as a stranger and as a guest here, could not presume to interfere in matters of that kind, but I am on solid ground when I object to the proposed covenant of the League of Nations, because it is going to do injustice to my country. I know that is ground on which I can stand before Americans; that they will not join hands with an Empire that seeks to keep Ireland in servitude.

"Ireland's attitude with respect to the general idea of a League

of Nations has been made clear in Ireland by the Irish Parliament, by the official documents which we submitted to the Peace Conference, and, I would say, by my supplementary statement, as head of the Irish government, in Boston. I would, therefore, not be misunderstood when I devote the few words I am going to speak to you about Article X of the proposed covenant of the League of Nations.

"Now, that article, if the treaty is accepted in that form, means for us that we are to be cut off from the sympathy that you here are giving us; from the practical, material and moral aid of every country on earth except the one which is holding us in subjection. We are to be cut off by that from seeking your sympathy in the future, and from seeking from you such aid as you sought and received from France, such aid as you gave to the Latin countries in America, such aid as you recently gave, and in giving gave to the limit, as you have in every case, by delivering the subject peoples of Austria from the yoke of Austria, the Russians from the yoke of Russia, and the Prussians from the yoke of Prussia.

"I say that we are here to ask the American people not to do that act of injustice to Ireland. I know it is not necessary further to point out to you how it would be an act of injustice to us; it is not necessary to labor any further. If it were not a direct act of injustice, but simply did not accord with the principles that you hold at heart, I believe that I would have to say nothing more about it.

"Well, then, we ask you to make representations to your government, to ask them to see that Ireland by that covenant is not put in the position in which she will be consigned to the mercies of England.

"We have ourselves in Ireland done everything it is possible for a people to do who are not as militarily strong as the nation that has its forces occupying the island.

"We have done and fulfilled all the requirements which are necessary to show what way the will of the Irish peoples lies. We had our elections. At these elections the people voted. They voted on the direct issue of whether they wanted a Republic or not, and by a two to one majority they voted in favor of the Republic, and the Republic is established.

"Now we come here in addition to ask you not to do an act of injustice; we ask you to do the positive act of justice. We say and hold that, in accordance with American principles, our Republic is there and that America, in accordance with her principles, is going to recognize it.

"A Republic exists, a government exists, a government ready to function, ready to perform all of the duties of government, but it is prevented from functioning by some arbitrary force, the same force as that which held Belgium and prevented the Belgian government from functioning when a foreign army occupied Belgium.

"The position of Ireland is this: that a foreign force occupies our country and will not let a legitimate government of the country function.

"Now, your recognition of the Republic is your right. England has no right to come along and tell you that you can't do that.

"England tells you, 'Hands off Ireland.' The British lion growls immediately when anybody is likely to disturb its prey. I believe this great nation is big enough and proud enough to say it has a right to recognize justice and to turn away from injustice.

"I might be asked why I have come to America first. Why have I come to America rather than to France or to Spain or to some other country? Well, I think the reason is obvious. But it is not so much that here in this country there is a large portion of men and women of Irish blood; it is not even because we recognize that here we have a liberty-loving people; but it is because we know that this nation is big enough to be able to stand up and follow its own will, irrespective of whether John Bull likes it or not.

"I was once asked in Ireland by the representative of an American paper why it was, now that America had entered the war and America would be there as guarantor, that the principles for which she entered the war would be the principles on which peace would be made—I was asked, 'Why do you not now ask the Irish people to get out and fight in the English army? It would be, of course, a fight beside Americans.'

"My answer was this: America is a mighty nation of 101,000,000 of people or so; we are a nation of 4,500,000, the remnant that has been left of what I will call the British war in Ireland, because it has been more devastating in Ireland than the war was in Flanders. Within human memory, British war in Ireland has devastated Ireland and destroyed a greater portion of the population of Ireland than did the war destroy in Flanders or anywhere else.

"I said, then, we are a nation of four and a half millions; we could be cheated at the end; but America is too big a nation, and America has to look nowhere else but to itself for guarantees that it won't be cheated, and if I were an American with the principles that America put forward as her principles I would have to join America's army, and I hold that those of us who were fighting

England were in reality fighting for the very principles for which the Americans fought in their army.

"Well, then, I am asking of America two things, one which appeals to America's greatness and the other to America's honesty.

"I appeal to the American greatness, the nobility of their soul, and ask them—because the Englishman forgets—are they not going to recognize the right in others to live and to get the same forms of government as they themselves chose and prospered under?

"I am appealing to America's sense of honesty and sense of fair play and justice when I ask it not to take away from us the only weapon by which any nation has won its freedom in the past.

"That weapon seldom has been its own power from within. We are ready to use every man and every adult in the effort of our people to strive for freedom, to strive to get the Englishmen out.

"But, in the past, if you study history with that purpose, you will find that it has rarely been the good fortune of any small nation to loosen from itself the grip of imperialism.

"That grip has been loosened by the sympathy of outside nations and by the practical help which under certain conditions these nations were able to give to the smaller ones, and you are cutting away from us the great chance to obtain that liberty by getting rid of the Englishman.

"Well, then, I feel certain from the enthusiasm which has been shown to our cause here since I have come here, that our appeal both to your honesty and to your greatness will be met with giving us what we ask, and that is the recognition to which we are entitled, namely, that you will not commit yourselves to agreeing to cut us off from that sympathy which alone can free us."

APPENDIX D

COUNTESS DE MARKIEVICZ

Countess de Markievicz is one of the most remarkable women in Irish history. In the Easter insurrection she personally led the men in the attack on Dublin Castle, seat of the British government in the Irish capital, and, it is said, shot down the king's sentinel, and did it in heroic style. When finally she was forced to surrender, believing she was soon to face the firing squad, she proudly kissed the pistol with which she had done effective work throughout the insurrection, if all the tales be true. She is slavishly idolized by the poor of Ireland and the revolutionary patriots. The following sketch of her life is by Norah Meade, who had known the countess intimately for many years, and was written shortly after the Easter insurrection:

Constance, Countess de Markievicz, is now a prisoner of the British Crown, officially charged with treason. In the recent Irish rebellion she led the attack on Dublin Castle, and to citizens whose memories go back some thirty years her part was peculiarly ironical.

In those days Dublin Castle was the official residence of her maternal uncle, the English Marquis of Zetland. By birth the Countess de Markievicz is Constance Gore-Booth, daughter of Sir Jocelyn, an Irish Baronet. Her mother is the daughter of the late Marquis of Zetland and sister of that Irish Lord Lieutenant whose reign is still remembered by reason of its social brilliance. Her youth was spent in the manor house of Lissadell, a village of County Sligo, and here—so the tradition goes—so thoroughly did Lady Gore-Booth preserve her native English atmosphere that even the clocks are set by Greenwich time. She was less successful in setting the tone of her daughter's sentiments.

Two stories come down from the girlhood of Constance Gore-Booth, which indicate her attitude toward parental authority. At the time Parnell was the premier patriot of Ireland and the youth of the country were at his feet, evidently he had fired the girl's imagination, and when he was scheduled to speak in a neighboring town she determined at all costs to hear him. Her mother decided that she should stay at home.

There are no trolleys and few trains in the West of Ireland, so Lady Gore-Booth laid an embargo on all means of conveyance and considered her position safe. But she reckoned without the resourcefulness of her daughter. Corralling two horses from a

neighboring farm, Constance and her sister, Eva, rode recklessly across country and arrived in time to hear the speech. But if her conduct in this case amounted to insult, in the next it aimed at deliberate injury.

Land troubles were rife in the West and the tenants had decided on a strike. "No Rents" was their war cry. But at that time landlords still were formidable and there was some hesitancy about carrying out the campaign. A meeting was called to decide finally and proved sensational in an unexpected way. Among those not invited, but nevertheless present, was the courageous and irrepressible Constance, who came to advise the tenants to refuse payment to her own father!

With all due respect to the maternal tenderness of Lady Gore-Booth, one has a vivid picture of her relief when Constance discovered her genius for painting and betook herself to Paris to become a student. One has a companion picture of the regret of Sir Jocelyn's Connaught tenants at the loss of this lovely landlord's daughter.

Constance Gore-Booth spent many years in Paris where she was well known in artistic circles. When she finally returned to Ireland it was with a reputation well established as a painter. Meantime she had acquired the title of countess. Casimir de Markievicz is now in his own country, where he has been reported wounded on the Russian front, but for many years he was a familiar figure in Dublin beside his tall, distinguished Irish wife.

That the countess was as incorrigible as Miss Constance Gore-Booth was evident from the very start. She was still as impossible of control, still as reckless of consequence, still as generous of impulse. Also she was unguarded of tongue. They tell a story of her first visit to her staid English mother with her Russian-Polish husband. All three were taking tea one afternoon in the drawing room of Lissadell. It had been a wet day and Lady Gore-Booth now requested her son-in-law to see whether the weather had cleared. He went out, returned and reported succinctly:

"Raining lik blue hell!"

His mother-in-law stiffened in her chair, and Count Casimir, by now accustomed to such symptoms, hastily explained:

"You see, Constance has taught me all the English I know."

About 1905 the two settled in Dublin, where they lived until the outbreak of the war. The count, himself a painter of note, became official artist of the court. There was no official function at which the couple were not present. But meantime, equally inevitably, they were gravitating toward a different group, for

they were thinkers before they were social favorites.

Eva Gore-Booth, sister of the countess, had already proved herself a poetess of note. Her one piece, "The Rose of Breffni," would alone have entitled her to recognition among Irish writers. Her brother, Sir Jocelyn, though not a man of particular force, was nevertheless playing a helpful part in progressive agricultural movements. These two facts in themselves served as a bond.

Countess de Markievicz and her husband soon found themselves in the current of Irish intellectualism, and intellectualism, as it is practiced in Dublin, seems indissolubly bound up with nationalism. Constance de Markievicz, as a result of her new connections, began the study of Irish history. That was the beginning of the end. She soon drifted from her former set. In the beginning her husband entered a mild protest. But very soon he was imbued with his wife's sentiments, as is shown by his play, "The Memory of the Dead."

But no artistic medium could give expression to the new seeds in the countess' soul. She was above all things practical. She needed action. To her is due the arming of the first force in Ireland. It started in the name of Fianna, a body of boys in their teens, which corresponded roughly with Baden-Powell's English scouts. They met every week in a hall in Camden street, where they were drilled under the countess' direction. At times they betook themselves to the open, maneuvering in the Dublin mountains where the countess had a cottage. Charity was one of the virtues on which her regulations insisted, and these boys, so the story goes, were forever finding abandoned babies or deserving cases among the poor of Dublin, all of whom they referred to their General. She took them in. Soon her own handsome house was for rent. She could no longer afford its upkeep. She and her husband moved into smaller quarters.

When the labor troubles broke out in Dublin under the leadership of Larkin it was the Countess de Markievicz who took charge of the women and children whose men relatives were engaged in the riot.

A co-operative farm, which would at once help and teach the peasant, was her next philanthropic venture. It was established just outside Dublin.

When war broke out Countess de Markievicz was among those who repudiated Redmond's pledge of Irish loyalty to the English cause. Being a Sinn Féiner, she saw in Great Britain's difficulties only a unique opportunity for Ireland. At once she became a subject of suspicion to the secret service, and her house was closely watched. Early this year (1916) under the defense of the realm

act, it was raided and a printing press seized. They found there some letters that led to the capture of a rebel arsenal.

When the leaders of the extreme nationalists or separatist section at length determined on the use of armed force, the countess insisted on contributing her small force, though many of the men would have excluded her willingly. In the actual rising in the Irish capital she marched boldly on the government stronghold.

APPENDIX E

THE CASE FOR ULSTER.

The Belfast Chamber of Commerce, which speaks for the inner shrine of Ulster and the Covenanters, over the signature of H. M. Pollock, president, and W. J. P. Wilson, secretary, on May 5, 1917, issued the following statement by way of explaining the unalterable opposition of Ulster to Home Rule:

"In 1886, in 1893, and in 1912 the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, a non-political body concerned exclusively with commercial and industrial interests, and widely representative of these interests throughout Ulster, was constrained, in view of the danger with which those interests were threatened by proposals for the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland, to pronounce in well-considered and unequivocal terms its settled conviction that any attempt to depart from the principle of the Union with Great Britain and to set up a separate Parliament and Executive Government for Ireland would be fraught with economic disaster and involve bitter conflict between opposing sections having different economic and political ideas, and lead to grave breaches of social order.

"The events of the past few years have only served to confirm and strengthen those convictions, which we reaffirm to-day.

"The absolute determination of the great body of the people of Northeast Ireland to refuse to come under a Home Rule government and to resist at any sacrifice all attempts to coerce them to submit to Nationalist rule has been clearly and sufficiently demonstrated, and remains unshaken, and this position has been recognized in the declaration of both the past and the present Prime Minister that coercion cannot be applied to Ulster.

"The growth of the Sinn Fein movement, the recent outburst of rebellion, and the lamentable failure of Nationalist Ireland to make any adequate response to the call of the country for war service in the hour of her greatest need, have disclosed the full extent of the deep-rooted anti-British spirit which is the main-spring of the separatist movement, and which has got quite beyond the control of the official Nationalist leaders.

"Since the Chamber was last called on to speak on these grave issues, schemes for procuring some kind of settlement by the separate treatment of Ulster, or part of Ulster, have been the staple of political manœuvring, and an arrangement for the estab-

lishment of Home Rule with the exclusion of six Ulster counties was reluctantly acceded to by the Ulster Unionist Council in response to appeals from their Parliamentary leaders made in the hope that this would ensure an union and concentration of energy and service for the effective prosecution of the War.

"This scheme, although publicly advocated by the official Nationalist party, aroused such a storm of opposition that the Nationalist leaders subsequently found themselves compelled to abandon it.

"Demands are now being made by certain organs of the press and from some Parliamentary quarters that Unionist Ulster should make further concessions for the sake of a settlement to permit of the realization of ideals which we regard as wholly visionary and impracticable, and on this the Ulster people and their political leaders have made it clear that they have gone to the last limits of concession.

"We are firm in our belief that the best service Ulster can render to Ireland is to save her, misled by false national sentiment and ill-considered views of true Irish interests, from losing, either in whole or in part, the full communion of interest and economic life with Great Britain which is secure to her under the Union.

"At a time like the present, when throughout the Empire close co-operation between its constituent elements is seen to be essential for the furtherance of their mutual interests, and when for the maintenance and fostering of our great commercial life a closer co-operation is called for throughout the whole community by establishing and developing the activity of Chambers of Commerce, Guilds, and Trade Associations, it seems to us in utter conflict with the spirit of the age that this country of Ireland should, either in respect of its institutions of government or its economic welfare, seek to break or impair its partnership with the rich and powerful people who have taken rank among the most freedom-loving nations of the world, and with whom Ireland must always have her greatest interests in common.

"We have looked in vain for any expression of Nationalist views as to what a Home Rule government will do, or even attempt to do, for the material advancement or promotion of the prosperity of the country. We fail to see how Ireland could gain by obtaining fiscal autonomy. At present she shares with England and Scotland the benefit of all the public services of the United Kingdom, while only contributing a mere fraction of the cost. For some years Ireland's purely local expenditure largely exceeded her contributions to Imperial revenue (the deficiency amounting to £1,222,500 in 1913-14), until the increase of taxa-

tion due to the war produced a surplus.

"Of the total revenue of the United Kingdom, according to the official returns for the year ending 31st March, 1916, Ireland only brought in 5.52 per cent., while her drafts on the National Exchequer for purely local expenditure are 13.94 of the total local expenditure of the United Kingdom, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ times more than she would receive proportionally to her contribution.

"The old cry of the over-taxation of Ireland, based on 'taxable capacity' as treated by the Financial Commission of 1895, cannot be raised to-day.

"It is remarkable that Irish trade in exports and imports, as shown by the Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, amounted in 1914 to nearly £146,000,000, being £34 9s 2d per head of the population, as against £21 9s 9d for the whole United Kingdom. This is not, of course, a real gauge of wealth, which depends largely on internal development and internal trade, but it surely indicates the necessity of maintaining fiscal unity between Ireland and Great Britain. Especially is this so in the case of the industries of Ulster, which depend so largely on commerce overseas.

"If the country were suffering from misgovernment mere financial considerations might not carry so much weight, but we fail to discover any statement of serious grievances calling for drastic constitutional change.

"In a recent speech of Mr. John Redmond, leader of the Nationalist party, quoted in the House of Commons, he stated:— 'To-day the people, broadly speaking, own the soil; to-day the labourers live in decent habitations; to-day there is absolute freedom in the local government and the local taxation of the country; to-day we have the widest Parliament in the municipal franchise.' In the same speech Mr. Redmond also took credit for old-age pensions, the restoration of evicted tenants, the transformation of the congested districts and a Town Tenants Act far in advance of the legislation of Great Britain or any other country, educational freedom in university education, and an enormous advance in primary and secondary education.

"A late manifesto of the Nationalist party also gave a triumphant account of the legislative benefits that Ireland has secured, claiming them very wrongly as due to their exertions, but sufficiently demonstrating that from the Parliament in which they hold an entirely undue representation, they can obtain anything for which they can make a reasonable case.

"Subject to the exigencies and demands of the war, which must claim our undivided attention, all well-considered schemes

of reform applicable to the United Kingdom that may be considered necessary for the relief of Imperial Parliament or the more efficient government and administration of local areas will receive our sympathetic consideration.

"The country is prosperous as it never has been before, but because of a traditional and wholly unjustified attitude of disloyalty and discontent we are told again that 'something must be done,' and that Ulster must not stand in the way of the demand of Nationalist Ireland to govern itself badly. Mr. John Redmond has declared that he would rather that Ireland should govern herself badly than take good government from Great Britain.

"The policy of a partition of Ireland would never have been suggested by Unionist Ulster or found support from such a body as this Chamber except as a last resort from a greater calamity. Our experience of Nationalist conduct and methods in the sphere of local government has given us no confidence in their administrative ability or fair treatment of minorities.

"We do not desire to separate the interests of the manufacturing and industrial community of Ulster which the Chamber represents from those of the rest of Ireland, which are overwhelmingly agricultural, and, while recognizing that they are to some extent interdependent, we protest against their future being entrusted to a government from which our special interests would meet with little understanding or sympathy, and in which they would be at best very inadequately represented. We therefore reiterate our claim to remain in the security of the Union with Great Britain, in reliance on which we have built up our industries, and under which alone Ireland can attain to peace and prosperity."

Mr. W. Baird, editor and publisher of the *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, is typical of the *iron* intolerance of Ulster for the Catholics and of Ulster's opposition to Home Rule. He is a rugged soul and wholly rational on all subjects except self-government and separation. Then one might as well shout to the moon. He has been pre-eminently successful in business and has lived an unimpeachable life. In private and business affairs no man could be more honorable. And yet nature has so constituted him that he sees red the moment the word "Catholic" is pronounced.

On April 11, 1917, under the caption, "The Unionist Position," he prepared a short statement which he published and had circulated in great numbers. It is as follows:

"The renewal of the Home Rule controversy in an acute form, and the studied and persistent misrepresentation of the facts of

the Irish political situation make necessary a brief statement of Ulster's position.

"When the Act of Union was passed, in 1800, a Government Commission of the period reported that so desperate was the state of the country that over two millions of people were dependent upon only twenty weeks' work in the year for sustenance. . . . The country was a vast pauper warren.

"It was to that pass that self-government brought the country. In the nineteen years of an Irish Parliament the National Debt was multiplied thirteen times, and three times England was brought to the verge of war.

"The population of Ireland at the Act of Union, in 1800, just reached 4,000,000, but in 1841 it had increased to 8,175,000. It was the great famine in 1849 that scattered the population and started the tide of emigration to America, where prospects were brighter.

"Belfast has five of the greatest industries of their kind in the world, and it is the third port in the kingdom. Belfast does one-eighth of the entire coastwise shipping of the kingdom.

"Ulster owns $3\frac{1}{2}$ times more shipping than the rest of Ireland combined; it produces 48 per cent of all Irish oats, 41 per cent of all Irish potatoes, 53 per cent of all Irish fruit, 99 per cent of all Irish flax. Ulster pays in customs and revenue £4,915,377, or more than twice the rest of Ireland.

"In 1911 Ulster's foreign exports and imports had a value of £9,987,599, while the total for the rest of Ireland was £6,652,743.

"From the date of the Act of Union until 1891 Unionist Belfast multiplied its population $13\frac{1}{2}$ times, an occurrence without parallel in the kingdom.

"The rate of pauperism in Belfast is 82 per 10,000 of population. In Dublin it is 270 per 10,000, and in the Cork, Waterford, and Limerick area it is 284 per 10,000.

"In Belfast the rates are 7s 5d in the £ on property over £20 valuations, and 7s 0½d in the £ on valuations of £20 and under. In Dublin the rates are North Dublin 10s 11½d in the £; South Dublin 10s 2d. In Cork the rates are 11s 8½d in the £, and in Limerick 12s 4d.

"Belfast has grown up under the Act of Union, why should not the rest of the country have worked similarly, and progressed in like manner?

"Ireland is generously treated by the sister kingdoms. According to a government return, the local taxation per head in Great Britain was 18s 9d, while in Ireland it was only 11s 9d. Adding

Imperial and local taxation together, the figure is—Great Britain, £3 13s; Ireland, £2 6s 4d per head of the population. Since then the 1909 Budget and the Insurance Act have accentuated the disproportion.

“If Home Rule could possibly be a blessing to this country, who should welcome it so eagerly as those who have made Ulster and Belfast what they are? Have the British people ever asked themselves why it is that Irish Protestantism of all classes and sections is solidly opposed to Home Rule? Will it help to an understanding of their position if it is pointed out that not a single Protestant and Loyalist is elected to a seat on any public board in Connaught; that they are similarly and completely ostracised in Munster, and only in a small section of Leinster, where they are sufficiently centralized, have they any representation whatever? Throughout the three provinces they are taxed to provide County Council scholarships at the National University, and excluded from the possibility of gaining such by a sectarian condition of residence. In an Irish Parliament Ulster would be utterly impotent, her industries would be taxed to death for the benefit of non-industrial areas, and the whole basis of government would be sectarianism, as it is in local government.

“No contribution of any sort or kind towards a settlement has been made except by Irish Loyalists.

“In June, 1916, they gave an undertaking (1) not to further resist the application of Home Rule to the Southern and Western Provinces; (2) in response to the urgent representation that important Imperial interests would be served thereby, the Unionists of Donegal, Cavan, and Monaghan agreed to go out into the political wildernesses of an Irish Parliament, but only on the express condition that this represented the limit of Ulster's concession, and that there should be no forcing of the six counties in any way or at any time.

“The Nationalist contribution to a settlement is a rebellion. They have held out for their pound of flesh, and demand the application of coercion to Ulster.

“To drive Loyalists out from the full sovereignty of a Parliament and a system of government with which they are content, and force upon them the domination of another which they detest and fear, would be the negation of justice and freedom.

“£100,000,000 of British credit is pledged to Ireland to substitute a peasant proprietary in Ireland for the landlord system. How is the rest of the scheme to be completed without British aid? No money could be raised on the security of an Irish Parliament for such a purpose, because of the no-rent agitation

carried on by the Nationalist party.

"It is claimed that there is a majority for Home Rule in geographical Ulster. The statement is entirely erroneous. The figures of population are—Protestants, 886,333; Roman Catholics, 690,134. Through several election anomalies, such as East Belfast, with 20,000 electors, and Newry with 2,021, having the same Parliamentary representation, the net result is 16 Unionist members, and 17 Nationalists, despite a difference in population of nearly 200,000.

"Ireland has an average of one Parliamentary representative for 6,700 electors, while England has only one representative to every 13,000 electors.

"East Belfast, with one representative, has over 20,000 electors, a number which equals the combined totals of Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Londonderry, Newry, and Waterford. East Belfast has more voters than any two divisions of Dublin, and North Belfast has more voters than Cork City, which has two members.

"The population of two of the Unionist counties—Antrim and Down—is more than one-sixth of the whole population of Ireland, and exceeds that of the entire province of Connaught by 173,000, though Connaught has 15 members.

"Mr. J. Devlin, M. P.; Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M. P.; and other advocates of Home Rule, finding it impossible to explain away the marvellous prosperity of Belfast under the Act of Union, and unable to reconcile this with their arguments for Home Rule, have asserted that it abounds in slums.

"The slums in Belfast are in the West Division, which is represented by Mr. Devlin. Double tenancies without separate sanitary conveniences were created to secure his majority. The Belfast Corporation in 1911 prepared a Parliamentary bill which, amongst other things, proposed to end this. In public meeting of the City Council, the Nationalist representatives declared that if this clause were retained the entire bill would be blocked by the Nationalist and Labour parties, and the clause had to be struck out to save the bill.

"In consequence of similar slanderous misrepresentations made concerning Belfast, a Vice-regal Commission in 1908 conducted an exhaustive inquiry, as a result of which these allegations were convincingly refuted, though still persisted in. The following two extracts from the official report are emphatic and indisputable:—

"'Belfast is a town of rapid modern development, consisting largely of wide streets lined with rows of comparatively modern

dwellings, the vast majority of which are self-contained, so that there is an almost complete absence of antiquated courts, alleys, and common yards, such as may be seen in Dublin and Cork, and also in many of the older seaport towns in England and Wales.' 'Slums are rare in Belfast. Indeed, much evidence was tendered to the Commission which went to show that in the matter of housing, both in respect of room accommodation and in respect of the scale of charges for rent, Belfast is greatly favoured in comparison with other towns.'

"Contrast this with the position in Nationalist governed Dublin, where 33.9 per cent of the total families reside in a single room; where the pawning is £2 4s per annum per head of the entire population; where 41.9 per cent of the deaths occur in workhouses, asylums, and other institutions.

"Dublin has 22,133 one-roomed dwellings and 13,087 two-roomed dwellings, but no Nationalist member, either inside or outside the House of Commons, has started a crusade to have this disgrace swept away.

"Mr. Redmond and others have presented a comparative table of rateable valuations at per head of population for Ulster, Leinster, and Munster as follows:—Leinster, £4 17s 3d; Munster, £3 6s; Ulster, £3 4s 10d.

"Here are the official figures of population and valuation from the government returns:—Leinster—Population, 1,160,328; valuation, £5,206,459. Munster—Population, 1,033,085; valuation, £3,499,447. Ulster—Population, 1,578,572; valuation, £5,571,454. Connaught—Population, 610,000; valuation, £1,463,000. Belfast—Population, 400,000; valuation, £1,527,00. Dublin—Population, 304,802; valuation, £943,023. Ulster's valuation is 35 per cent of all Ireland.

"It will be seen that the population of Ulster exceeds that of Leinster by 418,244, which is more than a third of the latter's total. This fact was suppressed in Mr. Redmond's calculation.

"Ulster has located upon it 33.7 more people per square mile than Leinster, the next largest province in population.

"The government returns show that in Leinster there are 35,200 people in receipt of poor relief; Munster has 34,110; while Ulster, with its excess population of 418,244, has only 19,850.

"The following figures indicate the average poor-rate poundage for the various provinces of Ireland, and they convey their own lesson:

"Leinster, poor rate 1s 6d in the £1.

"Connaught, poor rate 1s 7¼d in the £1.

"Munster, poor rate 1s 11½d in the £1.

"Ulster, poor rate 11d in the £1.

"In recruits to the new armies Ulster has contributed 59,000, while the combined total of the other three provinces is only 51,700. The City of Belfast, with a population of 403,000, has given more recruits than Connaught, Munster and Leinster (excluding Dublin area) combined, representing a population of 2,066,000. The percentages of males of military age who have recruited are as follows:—Ulster, 33.8; Leinster (including Dublin), 17.7; Munster, 11.7; Connaught, 4.9.

"In contributions to the recent War Loan the City of Belfast contributed £25,000,000, and Ulster provided 85 per cent of the total raised in Ireland for this purpose.

"It has been frequently asserted on Nationalist platforms that Nationalists are intolerably treated in Ulster. The published official returns establish the following:—In Antrim they are 20 per cent of the population and they hold 22 per cent of public appointments. In Down they are 31 per cent and they hold 29 per cent similarly. In Armagh they are 45 per cent and they hold 48 per cent. In Derry they are 40 per cent and they hold 38. While in 'bigoted Belfast' they are less than 25 per cent, but they possess 37 per cent of public appointments.

"Mr. Birrell having made a public statement that the Belfast Corporation employed only one Roman Catholic—'a solitary scavenger'—the General Purposes Committee of the Council ordered a return to be prepared of the amounts paid in wages and salaries in the various departments to Roman Catholic and Protestant employees. This was submitted on February 13, 1919, and showed that Roman Catholics received per annum in wages £49,-498 and in salaries £4,231, though the contributions to rates just exceeded £18,000 per year. These are examples of what is described as 'Ulster bigotry and intolerance.'

"The following comparison between Unionist Antrim and Down and Nationalist Galway and Clare tells its own story:—

"In County Antrim the police force numbers twelve per 10,000 of the population, which represents one for each 833 people.

"County Down has exactly the same figure, which is considerably better than the English and Scotch ratio of one policeman to each 630 people.

"Clare and Galway present a startling contrast, for here the figure is one policeman to each 208 people in Galway, or 48 per 10,000 of population, and only a slightly better rate in Clare.

"Why should not the South and West of Ireland be like Unionist Ulster? They would be but for the paid agitator, who

keeps alive a system of crime and intimidation that calls for a huge police force to protect the victims.

"In the province of Ulster, according to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in February, 1912, there were but three cases of boycotting of 'minor degree,' affecting twenty-one persons, and these were in Nationalist counties, whereas in the other three provinces there were eighty such cases, affecting 324 people, and forty-two other persons were either wholly, or almost wholly, boycotted.

"In Ulster there was at the same date but one case under constant police protection, and one protected by patrol (in Nationalist districts), whereas in the other three provinces sixty-seven people were under constant protection, and 286 under police patrol. What would happen were British protection withdrawn and the administration of law and order entrusted to those who have made boycotting and intimidation part of their political system?

"Home Rule on the Colonial plan is put forward as all that is aimed at. The whole history of the Home Rule agitation has had, and still has, as its watchword, 'Ireland a Nation'—not a colony.

"The Colonies support themselves; does Ireland propose to do so? To which of the Colonies has Britain given £100,000,000 for land purchase? Which of them asks for an annual subsidy in perpetuity of £3,000,000 to carry on the business of government?

"Which of them proposes to establish a religious ascendancy, and call it government? Such a government would involve one religion being for ever in power, and the other for ever in subjugation.

"The Colonies possess and exercise the right to tax English manufactures imported into their countries. Is England prepared to grant this power to Ireland, to be employed in crippling British industries?

"Does any Colony claim the right—as Nationalist Ireland does—to manage its own affairs without any interference from Great Britain, and at the same time send its representatives to interfere and in fact hold the balance in deciding British affairs? All these proposals are part of what is grotesquely called Home Rule 'on the Colonial Plan.'

"THE VALUE OF GUARANTEES—STATISTICS EXTRACTED FROM THE OFFICIAL FIGURES OF 1911.

	Roman Catholics.	Protestants.
"ULSTER—Population,	690,134	886,333

"Representatives on County Councils,	112	123
"Representatives in Parliament,	17	16
"Proportion of County Council representatives—Roman Catholics, 1 for 6,162 of population; Protestants, 1 for each 7,206.		
"CONNAUGHT—Population,	587,237	23,273
"Representatives on County Councils,	227	0
"MUNSTER—Population,	972,172	60,715
"Representatives on County Councils,	227	0
"LEINSTER—Population,	989,113	170,230
"Representatives on County Councils,	332	12
"Grand total of Roman Catholic population in Connaught, Munster, and Leinster, 2,548,522; of Protestants, 254,218.		
"Total Roman Catholic representatives on County Councils, 789; and of Protestants, 12.		

"Proportion of representatives—Roman Catholic, 1 for each 3,600 of population; Protestants, 1 for each 21,185.

"Dr. E. C. Thompson, of Omagh, who has contested Ulster seats as an Independent Unionist, and represented North Monaghan as a Nationalist, has apparently lost belief in Home Rule. In a letter to the press he says:—April, 1917. 'We who live in Ireland and know all that has happened are absolutely opposed to any reconsideration whatever of the Irish question until after the war and until Ireland has purged herself of all the sins of omission and commission with which (I believe against the wish of the immense majority of her people) she has allowed her good name to be tarnished. I was a believer in Home Rule until last April. I confess the rebellion and the scandalous laxity in recruiting and the difficulties everywhere thrown in the path of the authorities in their efforts to get aid from Ireland to help them to win this war have had a great effect on my mind, and also upon the opinion of thousands of other men who thought as I did a year ago. Everywhere I go I find men of judgment and education expressing a similar view. No country engaged in the war is doing less in any way to help the enemy's defeat than Ireland. In no country in the world is there more absolute freedom and less general poverty, and none where the farmers and labourers were more generally happy and contented.'

"Dr. R. L. Marshall, Maghera, County Derry, writing under date April 7, 1917, says—'Because the currents of the Ulsterman's soul run silent and deep there is a foolish tendency to overlook the fact that beneath his political and economic objections to Nationalist domination there lies also a sentiment still strong and deathless. For he, too, has had a past. Vague visions float before him of wild nights when his fathers held the bawn against the

howling Irish kerns, of long years of constant strife when sword-won lands were held by the might of the naked blade. He, too, has his memories of black, foul treachery and cowardly crime. Lean famine—wasted arms wave greetings to him across the struggling centuries, bidding him guard the faith for which his fathers died, and hold aloft in an Imperial province the flag that never fell. There is still for him a crimson sign on Derry's crumbling walls, and it is his fathers' graves that line the banks of the Boyne. And so rooted deep in his silent soul, there is the conviction that he has a trust he owes to his gallant dead, that he is the guardian of a freedom handed down from bleeding sire to son, and, with the obstinate pride of his race, he will keep that faith. To yield submission to a Dublin Parliament would be for him the negation of his whole past history, the surrender of his trust and the degradation of his people. Thus if sentiment is the secret of Nationalist persistence in the demand for self-government, and this seems generally recognized, sentiment is also the overwhelming obstacle in the path of Ulster's inclusion in such government, and were every other obstacle removed, her economic and political fears dispelled, and every right safeguarded, this same sentiment would effectively bar the way to any settlement without clear-cut partition. Those who think otherwise are living in a land of unreality, and will yet have a rude awakening. For they will yet be forced to recognize that no pressure, devised either by Unionist perverts or truckling time-servers, will avail to overcome this legacy of heritage. One thing is sure, whatever else she may lose, and she has lost much in these last years, Ulster will keep her soul.'

“Mr. Kyle Knox, writing April, 1917:—‘I see several papers call on the Protestant corner to give up its nonpossumus attitude and concede something indefinite. Allow me to point out the various concessions, each of which was in turn expected to convert discontent into loyalty. There was the great Emancipation Act. It gave Ireland an important share in the government of the Empire. The history used in many national schools says it was granted only through ‘fear.’ The historian lays no weight on the fact, nor does he think it worthy of mention, that the whole body of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland gave a guarantee ending in these words:—‘They swear that they will not exercise any privilege to which they are or may be entitled to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government of Ireland.’ In five or six years afterwards we had the Tithe War. The tithe was reduced and charged to the landlord. In 1868 the Protestant Church of Ireland was discovered to be the upas

tree, and was disestablished and disendowed. Our Prime Minister considered it judicious to inform the public that the blowing up of Clerkenwell Prison led to his discovery. Then the twenty-six millions invested in titles to land at 25 and 26 years' purchase, on the faith of the Encumbered Estates Act of Parliament declaring them 'indefeasible,' were made practically 'unsaleable' except to the tenants, and at prices varying from 19 to 16 years' purchase. About three generations of children have been educated in the national schools (latterly with church funds), and we have as a result of all these concessions (at the expense of the Loyalists) a Sinn Féin rebellion during a war for the existence of the Empire, and we are invited by the politicians to trust ourselves and all we have to the enemies of Great Britain, men who will not let a Loyalist even act as county councillor. In thirteen counties no Protestant has been appointed outside Ulster since 1898, and out of 703 councillors in the three provinces—Leinster, Munster and Connaught—only 16. This is the 'ample' representation of the minority promised by Mr. Redmond.' ”

W. H. Webb, managing director of the “Old Bleach” Linen company, whose principal mill is at Randalstown, is another very likable man, personally, of the “hide-bound” Covenantan type. I had the pleasure of spending many hours with him, going over the Irish situation. I asked him for a statement of his position. On February 20, 1918, he sent me the following letter:—

“Dear Mr. Wheeler:—I enclose you a few thoughts on the situation in Ireland. If they are any use, alright; if not, consign them to the basket. I wrote you very hurriedly yesterday, and would like to add that I got up the history of the origin of ‘Old Bleach’ for you to write from rather than to publish. I am extremely busy at the present time, which is not conducive to literary perfection. I think it is very important that American people should get the correct view on the Irish question, especially at the present moment, when the matter is bound to come up again in Parliament in the near future, and the sympathetic understanding of the people in America has become almost an international question. I believe the Irish question is merely the instrument designed to bring down the British Empire, and it is of the utmost importance to the future of the world that the matter should be handled right.

“Again thanking you and those with you for the fair-minded way you investigated the question, and with kindest regards.

“Yours sincerely,

“W. H. WEBB.”

The inclosure was as follows:

"You are told in the United States that it is impossible for Ireland to progress and prosper under the Union with Great Britain; but what's the matter with Ulster? What's the matter with the linen industry? We in Ulster live and prosper under the same laws, the same form of government as the rest of Ireland.

"In Ulster we attend to our business, and are interested in the prosperity of our province; we have not got time to spend in stumping your country, endeavoring to touch your sympathies, and your pockets with harrowing tales of 'Ireland in Chains,' 'Ireland as she was 200 years ago,' not the Ireland of to-day, the spoiled child of the British Empire.

"We are more interested in the future of our children than in the future of our ancestors.

"The present stage of civilization has been a gradual development from barbarism and there are pages in the history of all countries which were better forgotten. But the future is more important than the past.

"There are two stages of civilization in Ireland, one is far ahead of the other.

"We hear to-day a great deal about small nations having the right to 'determine their own future.' We in Ulster intend to 'determine our own future'—we are not going to be drawn back into the older stage of civilization—we are not going to trust our future to those who have been actively hostile to the cause of freedom and democracy in this World War.

"The British government has offered self-government to the other three provinces in Ireland; but they will not accept this, and insist that Ulster shall be coerced. Ulster will not be coerced, and there the matter stands.

"We are told that the government of the United States, in order to improve their political position, is putting pressure on the British government to force Ulster to surrender.

"We don't believe it for a moment; your great President is not that type of man. This suggestion is an insult to him and to your country.

"We in Ulster are all of one mind on this matter—employer, and employee, farmer, farm labourer, and trader.

"We have our differences on other matters, but on this we are as one man.

"We have been whole-heartedly in the war from the beginning, and the reproach that Ireland has not borne her share of the burden hurts us deeply in this loyal province. We have done our best, we have made our sacrifices freely and willingly. We intend to stick it out to the end."





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